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EVA SCOTT

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR

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THE
TRAVELS OF THE KING

Charles II. in Germany and Flanders
1654–1660

BY

EVA SCOTT

AUTHOR OF
'THE KING IN EXILE

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PREFACE

IN a former volume I have dealt with the first eight years of Charles II.'s exile; in the present one I have sought to follow his career from the time of his departure from France in July 1654 to that of his return to England in May 1660. The story of these six years is a somewhat depressing record of ever-growing misery, despondency, and want, of domestic dissension and moral decadence; but if this period is less exciting than the earlier one it is also less well known and by no means devoid of incident. It includes the Cavalier rising of 1655, the abortive negotiations of Charles with Pope and Emperor, his treaty with Philip IV. of Spain, his intrigue with the Levellers, Booth's insurrection of 1659, Charles's journey to the Pyrenees, and finally the Restoration. Besides these main events there are other matters, less important, but not uninteresting nor wholly insignificant, — the Queen's attempt to convert her youngest son, Henry, Halsall's plot for the assassination of the Protector, the exposure and execution of the spy, Henry Manning, the treachery of Sir Richard Willys, the perilous expedition

of Ormonde to England, the mission of Henry Bennett to Madrid, the formation of a Royalist army in Flanders, the military adventures of James of York, Charles's private quarrels with his brother and sister, and his wooing of the Princess Henriette of Orange.

The first eighteen months following on the loss of French protection were passed by the exiled monarch chiefly at Cologne, and were signalised by the English rising of 1655, which ended in disaster, and in the severe oppression of the King's best friends at home. In April 1656 came the conclusion of the treaty with Spain, whereby Charles was enabled to make his residence in Flanders and to raise an army on Flemish soil. Thus he again attained recognition by a sovereign State, but such recognition remained almost his sole advantage. Thenceforth he and his ministers were involved in a hopeless struggle to exact the fulfilment of the Spanish treaty, both in respect of a promised invasion of England, and in regard to the King's immediate maintenance. The poverty and difficulties of Spain rendered her quite unable to make good her engagements, and she cared very little about the English King, save in so far as he was useful to herself in harassing Cromwell at home, and drawing the Irish regiments from France. Charles was fain to avert starvation from his army, which seldom numbered more than 2000 men, by permitting it to serve Spain under the command of his brother James, and even so it was seldom paid and ill-quartered. The con-

dition of the English Court was little better than that of the army, and Charles and his friends were reduced to almost incredible straits; but through all trouble and suffering they clung to the hope of returning home, and for that end they never ceased to plot. For some time they indulged in an intermittent intrigue with the Levellers, who undertook the murder of Cromwell, but this intrigue, conducted simultaneously by Sexby in Flanders and Wildman in England, eventually came to nothing. The assassination plot of the Levellers failed, as did Royalist projects of a like nature, and though Charles dallied with both Levellers and Presbyterians, he placed his real reliance on the Cavaliers. On his return from Scotland in 1651 he had forsworn the Presbyterian alliance and recurred to the true Cavalier policy, under the guidance of the Chancellor, Hyde. From that policy he never afterwards seriously deflected, and during his residence in Flanders he maintained a constant correspondence with the Royalists at home. Of active and loyal agents he had no lack, and their messengers passed continually between London and Brussels with an astonishing impunity. The death of Cromwell in 1658 brought renewed hope to the plotters, but a general insurrection planned for the autumn of 1659 failed in much the same manner and for much the same reasons as that of 1655. Charles, thrown back on foreign aid, thereupon journeyed to the Pyrenees, in order to be present at the treaty then in progress between

France and Spain, but his presence there gained him no more than specious promises from the ministers of both crowns, while his absence from Flanders was deplored by his friends in view of the rapid revolutions then taking place in England. Close on his return to Brussels followed the triumphant march of Monk from Berwick to London, and, within another month, the nation's unconditional recall of the long banished sovereign. Thus, in a moment when all had failed him, and even his position at Brussels seemed no longer tenable, Charles was raised from penury to affluence, from insignificance to an eminence of dignity and power. Foreign states hastily sought his friendship; money, presents, and congratulations were heaped upon him; and on May 25-June 4, he returned, amidst delirious rejoicings, to an eager and enthusiastic people.

Yet the hearts of his most faithful friends and ministers misgave them on the accomplishment of that for which they had hoped and prayed and laboured, for they alone knew the true character of the man who thus returned to rule. Fourteen years before Charles had passed into exile a bright, impressionable boy of sixteen, full of spirit, hope, and courage, endowed with excellent mental abilities, and not without good principles and noble impulses, but lacking, alas, the strength of character which alone could have enabled him to steer a clear course through the dangers that beset him. Instead of resisting, he had succumbed, in due course, to each successive

temptation. In Paris he had learned such lessons as the gay and dissolute Court of France could teach him. At Breda he had concluded with the Scots a treaty which degraded him in his own eyes, and his later dealings with the Covenanters had hardened him to hypocrisy, subterfuge, and opportunism. He came back to France from Scotland reckless and hopeless, careless of religion, principle, and honour, and his subsequent wanderings on the Continent did nothing to restore his self-respect. Thwarted by Spain in his laudable desire to lead his own forces in person, he sank ever lower in vice and idleness, until it became the despair of his ministers that they could not rouse him to use the excellent abilities which they knew him to possess. Such as his exile had made him, he mounted the English throne, and assumed the rule of a people whose ideals, political, social, and moral, had been temporarily shattered by years of change, confusion, and ultimate anarchy. Thus does the history of the first Stuart exile account for the England of the Restoration. With regard to authorities, comparatively little matter bearing on the later years of the exile is in print. The *Calendar of Domestic State Papers* is useful as ever, and so also are the *Thurloe State Papers*, but none of the published *Nicholas Papers* bear date later than 1656, and the printed volumes of the Rev. W. D. Macray's valuable *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers* do not carry us beyond the year 1657, though there is a further manuscript calendar available in the Bodleian

Library. Consequently the present work is mainly based upon the original manuscripts cited in my former volume, namely, the Clarendon, Carte, and Rawlinson Collections in the Bodleian, the *Egerton Manuscripts* in the British Museum, and the *Foreign and Domestic State Papers* in the Public Record Office. To these must be added Professor Firth's articles on the rising of 1655, published in the *English Historical Review*, his pamphlet on the 'Royalist and Cromwellian Armies in Flanders,' and the *Clarke Papers*, which he has so ably edited.

E. S.

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WHEN Charles II. quitted France, on July 14, 1654, he had reached the lowest ebb of his fortunes. His departure was voluntary only in name; the one power by which he had been hitherto succoured and sheltered had failed him at last, her alliance with England, though still unconcluded, was plainly inevitable, and Charles's prompt acceptance of the situation spared himself the indignity of expulsion, and Mazarin the hard necessity of banishing his master's cousin. No other power was ready to open its arms to the King. The United Provinces were bound by treaty with England to regard him as their personal foe. Spain, smarting from Rupert's attacks on her shipping, and from Charles's withdrawal of her Irish troops to France, sought the friendship of the English Protector. The Emperor and Princes, already overburdened with their own affairs, turned a deaf ear to all appeals for hospitality, and the Pope rejected absolutely the alliance of a heretic. 1654 July

At home all endeavours for the King's restoration had failed signally. In England, Cromwell's Protectorate was firmly established. Scotland and Ireland bowed before the conquering sword of the sister kingdom. In all three countries Charles's loyal adherents had fought and died in

vain; there was no longer a royalist army in any part of his dominions.

Of those who had originally shared his exile some now returned to England, impelled by fear of starvation to make terms with the Government. A few had established a shameful trade with the Protector, and earned a comfortable competence by the sale of their Sovereign's secrets. The faithful friends who clung to him in weal or woe were embittered by the daily grind of misfortune, poverty, and sorrow, disheartened by constant disappointment, and divided one from another by mutual distrust and jealousy. The King himself was at variance with his mother and brother, and his own reputation was grievously tarnished. In this dilemma he could look for help to one person only, and accordingly he resolved to throw himself on the hospitality of his sister, the Princess of Orange, at the Spa.

The friendship and affection of his sister had never yet failed him, though her own difficult position now rendered her unable to receive him within her son's territory and had long prevented her from giving him more than a secret and occasional aid. Her husband's untimely death, November 6, 1651, had left her sole guardian of their infant son at a juncture when the interests of the House of Orange were in an exceedingly critical condition. William II. had maintained his position by force of his personality, but when that personality was removed the Republican party in the States came into power, refused to elect the infant William III. as Stadtholder, and sought to cripple the House of Orange in every possible direction. Thenceforth they found in their foreign and domestic policy a double reason for dislike and distrust of the English King. As the uncle of their potential Stadtholder, and the brother of William II.'s widow, he was a danger to them at home. As the claimant of the English throne he was a danger to them abroad, since, for commercial reasons, they had every desire to live at peace with England. Even when that aggressive

neighbour had forced them into war, they refused to make her irreconcilable by embracing Charles's alliance, and in August 1653 they passed a resolution by which all foreign princes were prohibited from entering their dominions uninvited. Further, they requested—or rather commanded—the Princess to forbear from receiving her brothers upon the Orange territory. Mary was almost at their mercy, and, with hatred in her heart, she could but follow the counsel of her 'shy and wary' Steward, the Baron von Heenvliet, who urged her to conciliate the too powerful oligarchy by patience and endurance.[1] Thenceforth, while apparently acquiescent in the policy of the States, she gave to her brother such help as her own debts and difficulties permitted, always under a strict pledge of secrecy. This prudence exposed her to much unjust criticism, and while she was devoting half of her embarrassed income to Charles's service, she was continually assailed by the reproaches of his friends.[2]

The brother and sister had not met since Charles's departure for Scotland, four years previously, and the reunion was a keen joy to both. The Stuarts, notwithstanding their rather frequent family quarrels, were never lacking in family affection. Mary, always devoted to her brothers, now clung to them the more closely for the loneliness of her widowhood, and Charles reciprocated her attachment.

'I am glad,' wrote Elizabeth of Bohemia to Nicholas, 'that you found the King and my niece so well in health and so kinde one to the other, which has ever been so since I have known them. I believe indeed the separation will be hard, but when there is no remedy one must be content.'[3]

But the thought of inevitable separation was not allowed to overshadow the joy of the meeting, and Charles, casting his troubles behind him, threw himself into the pleasures of the moment with an apparently light heart.

The situation was not without compensations. Charles

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 212.
[2] *Evelyn, Diary*, vol. iv. p. 208, Aug. 31, 1654.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

found himself again in congenial society, living in comfort at his sister's expense, and relief at being out of France, where he had so obviously outstayed his welcome, prevailed, for the moment, over anxiety concerning his ultimate destination. He was undisturbed by the consideration of his public affairs since those affairs were practically at a standstill, and he was possessed of more ready money than had been his for many years.

In his eagerness to be rid of his guest, Mazarin had shown himself liberal, and had not only furnished immediate supplies, but had promised the continuance of the French pension.[1] Some small part of the Imperial collection had also been paid,[2] and, for the first time since his exile, it seemed possible for the King to exist upon his income.

To facilitate this desirable end, the Chancellor had drawn up a scheme of expenditure, which he submitted, with much sound advice, to Charles. Charging him, as a first precaution, to keep the amount of his receipts a secret from his train, Hyde pointed out that the sum already in hand, 72,000 guilders, would suffice to support the whole Court for a year, if expenses were strictly limited to the monthly sum provided by France. Payments were to begin from the first day of September 1654, and were on no account to be accorded to any one not actually in attendance on the King, a rule which subsequently drew down upon Hyde the wrath of Buckingham, Percy, and Jermyn.[3]

Of the train Ormonde, Rochester, Wentworth, Norwich, Culpepper, and Hyde himself were to receive 150 guilders monthly. Harding, Elliot, Blague, O'Neil, Dr. Killigrew, Dr. Earles, and Dr. Fraser were to receive 80 guilders each so long as they provided their own meals; if they eat at the King's table their salaries were to be reduced by half. Forty guilders each were allotted to Fleming, Lloyd,

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, vol. xlviii. fol. 165. [2] *The King in Exile*, p. 372.
[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, vol. xlix. fol. 85; *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 249.

Erskine, Carteret, Fox, Lane, Massonett, Griffith, Rustat, Barker, Armorer, Progers, Arnet, and Gervase the trumpeter. Some fourteen menial servants, mentioned by name and including a coachman and postillion, were given sums varying from 35 to 15 guilders. Sixty guilders were set aside for Chiffinch, five hundred for robes, and five hundred for the Privy purse. For the King's personal expenses it was reckoned that two thousand guilders would 'more than serve the turn,' and that sum was to be regularly set aside for future emergencies so long as he remained his sister's guest. Accidental supplies and windfalls could thus be applied to 'extraordinary expenses' or to the assistance of the Royalists in Scotland, and anything remaining over was to be put with the monthly savings into the Bank, 'to be ready upon any immediate occasion, and in the meantime to yield some profit.' Thus, added Hyde, supposing the French pension to be regularly paid, 'you will be no more in the straits you have been; however you see here how you may live a yeare if they should disappoint you.'[1]

The execution of this scheme of economy was intrusted to Stephen Fox, clerk of the kitchen, who was burdened with 'the charge of governing the expenses of the family, and of the payment of the wages of the servants, and indeed of issuing out all monies, as well in journeys as when the Court resided anywhere.'

Fox acquitted himself of his difficult task better than might have been anticipated, and by an able and energetic discharge of his office succeeded in 'bringing the family, which for so many years had been under no government, into very good order,' and in relieving the King, for a time at least, from 'the pinching straits of his condition.'[2] This was accomplished despite the fact that Charles's train at Spa swelled faster than was altogether convenient to him.[3] On the 21st of July came Rochester with 1000

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, vol. xlix. fol. 4.
[2] *Memoirs of Sir Stephen Fox*, p. 8; *Clarendon, History*, xiv. 89, 104.
[3] *Thurloe*, ii. p. 502.

pistoles over and above the expenses of his embassy to the Diet,[1] but bearing also the unwelcome news that the Emperor's promised gift had been 'placed on a contribution not yet granted to him,' and probably not payable for two years to come.[2] 'Is it possible,' asked Hyde, 'that the Emperor, when he gave and sent his great seale of the Empyre to the King for the payment of 10,000 rix-dollars should intend he should have nothing by it but the wax?'[3]

Rochester was of course accompanied by an impecunious following, all overjoyed at the return to King and countrymen.

'Poore wee are like those who have been long sea-sick whoe, uppon the noyse of land are peeping out of our cabins to know the truth,'[4] wrote one on the first rumour of leaving Ratisbon.

And others were not slow to imitate their example.

'All his ambassadors and agents from all parts flock to him in such an assembly and as merry as if they had three kingdoms,'[5] reported one of Cromwell's spies.

Among the newcomers spies abounded, and, though vengeance was freely threatened on all traitors, they remained undiscovered and able to furnish the Protector with constant and detailed accounts of all that passed at Court.

1654 August 'R. C. (*i.e.* Royal Charles) shall not stir but I shall be near him and his actions,' protested one. And he kept his word, leavening all his intelligence with demands for money and assurances that it was 'very chargeable to attend the Court.'[6]

For the first few days the intended gaieties were marred by the cold weather and heavy rainfall.

'We live gravely, and shall doe as long as the foule weather lasts. What a sunshine day may doe towards

[1] See *The King in Exile*, pp. 367-374.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, vol. xlviii. fol. 338, July 22, 1654.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. xlviii. fol. 315.
[4] *Ibid.*, xlviii. fol. 133.
[5] *Thurloe*, ii. p. 488.
[6] *Thurloe*, ii. p. 448.

dancing in the meadows I know not,' wrote Ormonde to Hyde, who had remained with his family at Breda.[1]

The gravity, however, did not long endure, and on August 6 Charles himself wrote to his aunt, the Queen of Bohemia.

'I am just now beginning this letter in my sister's chamber, where there is such a noise that I never hope to end it, and much less write sense. . . . I shall only tell your Majesty that we are now thinking how to pass our time, and in the first place of dancing, in which we find to (*sic*) difficulties, the one for want of fidlers, the other for somebody both to teach and to assist at the new dances. I have got my sister to send for Silvius as one that is able to perform both. For the fideldedies my lord Taafe does promise to be their convoy, and in the meantime we must content ourselves with those that make no difference between a himme and a coranto.'[2]

The bad weather had not only postponed festivities, but had also affected the mineral waters, which were declared 'worse than ordinary by reason of the heavy rains.' Consequently many who had begun a course of waters speedily abandoned it, but such things were, after all, a secondary consideration. 'All yt comes here are not patients, nor infirme,' explained the spy John Adams, 'for I believe the most part meet for the great and good company which is here to passe away the summer merrily.'[3]

The place was at that time very gay and confidently expected to become gayer by the arrival of the ex-Queen and new King of Sweden. Rumour, which had already united Mary with her cousin Rupert, now transferred her hand to Charles X. of Sweden,[4] and Queen Christina was said to be desperately in love with the English King. This assertion was based on the facts that she had sent him a jewel, always wore his portrait, and frequently

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlviii. fol. 338, July 22, 1654.
[2] Green's *Princesses*, vi. p. 213. [3] *Rawlinson MSS.*, A. xvi. fol. 483.
[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, vol. xlviii. fol. 135.

drank his health, but since she had abdicated her throne and joined the Roman Communion Charles was little likely to repay her devotion. Eventually the gossips were disappointed in all particulars; Christina remained in Flanders, and Charles X. took to wife a Princess of Holstein.[1]

There was, however, no lack of 'great company' at the Spa. Thither came George Rakoczy, Prince of Transylvania, who had married the Palatine Princess Henriette, Rupert's sister and Charles's cousin. There also were Count William of Nassau, and the Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, with their wives, Mary's sisters-in-law, the Princesses of Orange. Mary herself had brought with her a large train, and when fiddles and fine weather at last arrived together all was joy and gaiety.

'There is not a daye or night but there are balls and dansinge,' reported John Adams. 'I think the ayre makes them indefatigable, for they danse the whole afternoone, then goe to supper and after they goe into the meadowes and danse there. None (is) so much commended as our King, who indeede is growne a lustie and proper person; gaines the affection of all by his affable and free carriage amongst them. So doth the Princess Royal who is a gallant lady, 'tis admirable in Princes to see how loving they are. The Court is full of brave gentlemen, Here is my Lord Ormonde, Lord Taafe, Lord Wentworth, Lord Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. Chancellor Hyde and Secretary Nicholas expected.'[2]

Some ten days later he wrote again:—

'This morning I was for two hours hearing R. C. discoursinge sportinge, and drinkinge the waters upon a mountain near this town. His sister was with him, so was Ormonde, Taafe, Balcarres, Dan O'Neil and others. They dance, singe and drinke every night on a green hard by this town. R. C. is much given to dancinge.

[1] *Thurloe*, vol. ii. p. 448; Green's *Princesses*, vol. vi. pp. 212-215.
[2] *Rawlinson MSS.*, A. vol. xvi. fol. 483.

He went in a coach with five horses this morninge to the fountaine and returned on horseback. The traine of R. C. heere is not verie great, he has not above thirtie, but they live well and are verie merrie, all of them.'[1]

Towards the end of August this pleasant idle life received an abrupt check from an outbreak of small-pox, of which Kate Killigrew, one of Mary's ladies, died. Alarm spread through the Court, and on August 21 the royal party made a hasty retreat to Aachen. They arrived late the same night and were greeted by the kindly citizens with a salute of cannon and a present of 'four men's burthen of wilde foule and poultrie.'[2]

Mary had engaged the two largest hotels in the place for herself and her brother. Her own suite now consisted of only three ladies, a few gentlemen, and seven pages and lacqueys. But Charles's following had swelled daily, and numbered more than eighty 'gallant men.'[3] Of these Ormonde held the first place, being esteemed 'the ornament of the Court,' but Taafe 'kept the greater bustling,' and all were still 'in very good equipage.' Unfortunately peace did not always prevail in the assembly; Lord Wentworth and Major Boswell actually came to blows in the King's anteroom, and Rochester and Newburgh were only withheld from duelling by the personal intervention of Charles.[4] Such incidents were however only to be expected, and did little to mar the general gaiety. Change of scene had quickly revived the drooping spirits of the Court, and all speedily resumed their former avocations to which now was added bathing at the famous 'Cæsar's Bath.' Only the King and his sister held themselves aloof, neither being seen in public for some days after their arrival.

'All the Cavaliers here doe bathe themselves daylie, but R. C. himselfe since his coming hither appeares not

[1] *Rawlinson MSS.*, A. xvii. fol. 175, August 20, 1654.

[2] *Ibid.*, A. xvii. ff. 176, 177.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 107; *List of King's Train*, October 1654; *Thurloe*, ii. p. 567.

[4] *Rawlinson MSS.*, A. xvii. fol. 177; *Thurloe*, ii. pp. 534, 585, 602.

abroade at all,' wrote Adams. 'The reason I do not know, but matter of State, as with Princes.'[1]

The truth was that Charles's holiday was ended, and care had again overtaken him at Aachen. There was Rochester with the account of his embassy to the Diet and complaints of the German Princes' reluctance to pay their promised contributions. There was Nicholas Armorer with messages from England, plans for a royalist rising, and appeals for advice and assistance.[2] There were Balcarres, Bunce, and Massey with stern reminders of the Covenant and new proposals from the Scottish Presbyterians.[3] There was Sir James Turner[4] with reports of the dissensions prevalent in Middleton's Highland army, and thither, August 25, came Hyde and Nicholas with news of Middleton's defeat and failure.[5]

The statement that this fresh disaster 'troubles the Cavaliers when they want drink, and not else,' was hardly accurate. Charles's concern at least was genuine, and he at once called a council of Ormonde, Hyde, Nicholas, Rochester, Wentworth, and Culpepper to consult on the means of sending relief to Scotland, and the advisability of himself going thither. To do either money was needed, and Rochester proposed that the German contributions should be employed in the purchase of arms, and in bribing Monk's men, at the rate of five pounds for each trooper and one pound for each foot soldier, to desert to the royalist cause. But before the money could be spent it had to be collected, and Hyde's scheme of economy had not provided for embassies to all the German Courts. Poverty had already deterred Charles from sending condolences to the Emperor on the untimely death of his son, the newly elected King of the Romans, and having sent Rochester to the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, he was obliged to content himself with writing to the other Princes. This procedure proved, as had been

[1] *Rawlinson MSS.*, A. xvii. fol. 177. [2] *Thurloe*, ii. p. 559.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii. pp. 569, 576. [4] *Memoirs of Sir J. Turner*, p. 114.
[5] See *The King in Exile*, pp. 402-411.

feared, less effectual than a personal solicitation. From many no satisfactory answer was received, and though the Elector of Brandenburg and the Dukes of Brunswick and Mecklenburg all renewed their promises they made fulfilment conditional on Charles's departure for Scotland.[1]

At Aachen opinion was much divided. Some of the train were 'rather content to wander up and down in their present subsisting posture . . . than have the King to hazard anything.' Others were 'hot to have him go presently,' and he himself declared that he would rather die honourablythan 'live in such contemptible calamityes.'[2]

'Sir, be assured the King will hazard home before he begg his bread abroade,' wrote Sir John Henderson to Thurloe, Cromwell's Secretary of State. 'For certainly the Emperor and the Princes will contribute no more to him except they see he prove active in his own affairs and employ this he has gotten to some use. Nay, many of them has letten him know by their letters that he has spent too much time and suffered good occations to slip from his hand in affecting (*sic*) nothing.'[3]

Henderson's information, derived from the King's treacherous secretary, Peter Massonet, was likely to be fairly correct. It was supplemented by another letter to much the same effect, written from the 'Sign of the Dragon' at Aachen. 'But assure yourself he shall not go to any place without your privitie, if I live and yow furnish me with money,' concluded Thurloe's correspondent.

The need of money was emphasised by details proving Aachen to be 'a most expenceful place.' For, asserted the writer, 'I must pay five-pence every night for bedd, and halfe a patacoon a meale, besides washing and extras, and any expences among the Courtiers with whom I must converse, and horse-hire when I ride. Putt all this together and consider what monies I need to follow a wandering Prince.'[4]

[1] *Thurloe*, ii. pp. 568, 574.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii. pp. 534, 556.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii. p. 574.
[4] *Rawlinson MSS.*, A. xvii. ff. 176, 177.

Money being furnished he was able to 'oblige' Harding, Blague, O'Neil, and some others 'by an invitation to a tavern' and thus learnt, at a cost of five pounds, that the King was resolved 'to steal away for Scotland,' and that Rochester had already gone to Hamburg to arrange the necessary preliminaries.'[1]

This intelligence was rather dearly purchased, for, as a matter of fact, Charles had decided to wait a little longer on events. Instead of going himself to Scotland he despatched Colonel William Borthwick, Blague, and Strachan with such supplies as he could muster and letters exhorting Middleton, Glencairn and the other Scottish leaders to sink their private differences in the common cause. All was, however, too late. Most of those to whom the letters were addressed had already made their submission to the Government, the rest were mere fugitives and outlaws, and Borthwick was eventually betrayed to Monk by his own brother. Blague and Strachan, being warned in time, returned with their supplies to Holland.[2]

In the meantime Dr. Creighton preached vehemently to the Court against the Presbyterians, and his hearers expressed a confident expectation of being in England by the next year.

'Thus they please themselves with phansies,' commented an onlooker.[3]

eptember His business settled, Charles emerged from retirement and made his first public appearance at vespers in the Cathedral, whither he and his sister came by special invitation of the Canons, on the afternoon of September 7. The royal guests were received with all honour, and formally thanked for the condescension of their attendance, after which they visited the relics of the Church, and Mary devoutly kissed the skull and hand of Charles

[1] *Thurloe*, ii. p. 585.

[2] Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 179, 182, 196, 197; *Clarendon MSS.*, vol. xlix. ff. 96-99; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 98, 117, 138, 140.

[3] *Thurloe*, ii. p. 585.

the Great, while her brother drew the hero's sword from the scabbard, saluted it reverently, and measured it with his own. Their whole demeanour gave great satisfaction to their hosts, and perhaps not less to their enemies at home, who did not omit to comment on their obvious inclination to the Roman Church.[1]

From that time both the King and Princess were constantly to be seen in the streets and about the neighbourhood of Aachen. Mary entered on a course of waters, and every morning Charles walked to meet her, at Cæsar's Bath, clad in sober black with white silk stockings, but adorned with the blue ribbon and garter, and accompanied by five or six gentlemen. In the afternoons there were visits to be made to Count William of Nassau and the Landgrave of Hesse, who had also fled from the Spa to Aachen. Mary had seemingly buried her former dislike to Count William, and now met him with something more than the bare 'civility' she had promised. He and his wife dined with her frequently, and all were on the most cordial terms. The festivities of the Spa were again re-enacted. A hunting-party, organised by the Landgrave of Hesse, lasted from seven in the morning until four in the afternoon, and though they killed only one hare and four partridges, the whole party returned in excellent spirits. That evening all came to supper at Mary's hotel where 'they were extream merry,' and Charles returned Queen Christina's compliments by drinking her health publicly. 'The health went round with many laughs and ceremonies,' and 'the most part of that night (was) spent in mirth, singing, dancing, and drinking.'[2]

On another day it was recorded that they visited a neighbouring cloister of Canonesses 'where they were dancing and as merrie as men could be.' Yet, added a close observer of the King, 'for all his dancing, I believe he has a heavy heart.'[3]

[1] *Thurloe*, ii. pp. 567, 569.
[2] *Thurloe*, ii. pp. 585, 591, 599.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii. pp. 601, 614.

October The guess was probably true enough; the news from Scotland was worse than ever, Mary's holiday was drawing to a close, and it had become necessary for her brother to consider what he should do when she returned to Holland. He had hoped that Rupert might prevail on the Emperor to receive him at Vienna,[1] but on the first hint of such a project the Emperor bade Rupert's brother, the Elector Palatine, discourage the design. The Elector accordingly warned his cousin not to apply for an invitation which would certainly be refused,[2] and Charles promptly disclaimed the entertainment of any such thought.

'I wonder,' he wrote innocently, 'whence any rumour should grow of my purpose to visit Vienna, which was never in my thought, it beinge very much out of the way of my business. And this you may assure all who give any credit to that report. I thank you for your care of me!'[3]

The want of a better asylum and 'the civility of the people who had assigned a reasonable house for his Majesty,' decided Charles to remain at Aachen, and with that view he sent for his luggage, some thirteen or fourteen trunks, which he had left at Liège. But before settling down for the winter he purposed to escort his sister for some part of her homeward way, and to take the opportunity of visiting Cologne.[4]

Leaving most of his train at Aachen, he set out with Mary and her suite on Thursday, October 8. That night they slept at Juliers, described by Hyde as 'a little dirty town upon a flat, not worthy to have made a quarrel between all the princes of Europe,' and on the following day they reached Cologne about five o'clock in the evening.[5]

Charles was not without apprehension concerning his

[1] *Thurloe*, ii. p. 567. [2] *Bromley Letters*, p. 315.
[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, vol. xlix. fol. 10.
[4] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 87; *Rawlinson MSS.*, A. xvii. fol. 177; *Thurloe*, ii. p. 534. [5] *Clarendon*, *History*, xiv. p. 110.

reception in the free city, which maintained a bold independence of its Bishop-Elector at Bonn. The citizens he was told were proud and bigoted, religious communities composed half the population, and the merchants depended much upon their trade with England. For this reason he had sent word by Rochester that he was incognito and desired 'no ceremony,' but he speedily learned that his fears had been unfounded, and the citizens of Cologne proved, in the event, more kind and friendly to him than the inhabitants of any other German State.[1] Not to be behind their neighbours in civility, they received the King and Princess with a salute of thirty cannon, besides 'many shots of guns and muskets, joined with the admiration of the people.' For lodging Mary had engaged 'a very fair and curious house, full of decent rooms and pleasant gardens,' and they were no sooner there established than a party of two hundred musketeers appeared to fire three volleys at the door. A little later the City Magistrates arrived with cordial welcomes and offers of service, and the visit was followed by a present of two silver pots and 'two lusty fodders of wine.'

The ecclesiastics proved no less kind than the laity, and on the next day, Saturday, October 10, the King and Princess were invited to the Jesuit College. There seven young boys sang a welcome on their knees; speeches, music, and a dramatic performance followed, and finally a choice banquet was offered to the guests in the refectory. Of this Charles and his sister partook sparingly, contenting themselves with some grapes and a glass of wine, but others were less abstemious. 'The rest snatched away all that there was, and I had my share of the spoil as near as I could,' averred the spy, who, of course, followed the King.

The Nuncio did his part by presenting a stag to Ormonde, who visited him in return. On Sunday, after duly attending the Reformed Church at Mulheim, Charles and Ormonde wandered on foot through the city,

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 53.

examining and admiring all that they saw. On Monday the Cathedral relics were displayed by the Burgomaster and two Canons, clad in crimson velvet, who opened for Charles's inspection the tomb of the three Kings, a concession very rarely made to any one. The rest of the week passed rapidly and pleasantly in hunting, exploring the place, and attending receptions at the convents of Benedictines, Franciscans, and Carmelites, whither the Papal Nuncio came to meet the King.[1]

As a climax the hospitable citizens pressed the exile to remain amongst them, and Charles, pleased by their kindness, and charmed with the beauty of city and country, readily abandoned his idea of passing the winter at Aachen.

'That inclination was quickly changed when the strange delightfulness of this city and country was looked upon, which sure is admirable, and when the magistrates, by a particular addresse, invited his Majesty's stay here,'[2] wrote Hyde to James of York.

But Charles's journey had another object than mere pleasure. It had been originally undertaken in the hope of procuring payment of the subsidies granted to him by the Diet, and the Chancellor's efforts to recall the King to business may be guessed from a note appended by him to a rough draft of some letters.

'I hope your Majesty will take the paynes to write this to the Earl of Rochester, and send both it and your other to the King of Denmark to me as soon as may be.'[3]

The letter to Rochester had reference to the money he was charged to collect at Berlin and Dresden. The Emperor and another 'circle' of princes had been intrusted to the care of Charles's agent, John Taylor, and it remained for Charles himself to deal with the Princes of the Rhine. Immediately on his arrival at Cologne, he had sent to solicit payment at all the surrounding Courts, but his messages met with small success and slight response.

[1] *Thurloe*, ii. pp. 645, 661. [2] *Clarendon MSS.*, vol. xlix. ff. 87, 89.
[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, vol. xlix. fol. 100, October 1654.

The Elector of Cologne expressed polite but cool regrets that his ill-health prevented him from waiting on the King, and though he eventually paid his subsidy, it was extorted 'by an importunity unfit to have been pressed upon any prince or gentleman.'[1] Other princes followed his example; fearing to draw upon themselves burdens and difficulties by acts of courtesy to the exile, they contented themselves with sending formal compliments, and this general coldness cast a dark shadow on the Royalists' satisfaction at Cologne.

'I cannot brag much to you of any extraordinary civilities we have received,' wrote Hyde to Taylor.[2]

Yet even among the cautious German Princes one proved kind, and Philip William, Count Palatine of Neuburg, not only paid his contribution promptly, but accompanied it with an intimation that 'he would be glad to receive the honour of entertaining the King and his sister in his palace.'[3] This invitation was conveyed to Charles by Neuburg's chief minister, who was careful to add that no meeting could take place unless the King consented to greet the Count as 'Altesse,' and to suffer him to kiss the Princess.

Charles and his sister both 'naturally enough inclined to new sights and festivities,' were not likely to reject the proffered hospitality for a point of etiquette; the invitation was accepted, and Charles assured his host that he had received it 'very kindly,' and would willingly observe the formalities required of him.[4]

On the 28th of October the King and Princess were entertained by the city at a farewell 'collation' in the Hôtel de Ville, and on the next morning they embarked in 'a fine barge' and proceeded by water to Düsseldorf. Their reception was 'great and noble.' On the banks of the Rhine, about a mile from the palace, the Count and Countess awaited them with 'a great equipage' of twelve coaches, and invited them to disembark. Charles and

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. p. 116.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 89.
[3] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. p. 112.
[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 101.

Mary thereupon entered the coach of their host, with Ormonde and Lady Stanhope, and thus drove to the castle, saluted all the way with volleys of cannon.

On arrival they retired to dress and 'to make their devotions' before supper. For this magnificent repast twenty-two tables had been prepared in the great hall, with sixty-eight dishes for each. The Count and Countess sat with the King and Princess at a table apart from the rest, and the Count, before taking his seat, 'pressed infinitely to give the King the towel to wash, and was very hardly denied that condescension.' Charles resisted the attention with equal politeness, and the two at last sat down mutually satisfied.[1] The feast, which lasted many hours, was enlivened by music, vocal and instrumental, 'which, if not excellent, was new, and differed much from what his Majesty was accustomed to hear.' The wine flowed freely, but contrary to the custom at German feasts, no one was pressed to drink to excess, for the Count of Neuburg was an enemy to such gross pleasures, and in point of civilisation considerably in advance of his compatriots. He had been educated by Jesuits, and now, at the age of thirty, was 'a man of very fine parts of knowledge, and in his manners much the best bred of any German. He had the flowing civility and language of the French, enough restrained and controlled by the German gravity and formality, so that altogether he seemed a very accomplished prince and became himself very well, having a good person and graceful motion, which that nation seldom attain to.' His wife, Elizabeth Amalia of Hesse Darmstadt, was not his equal in manners or education. She had 'no eminent features of beauty, nor the French language, nor vivacity to contribute to the entertainment, so that she was rather a spectator of the festivity than a part of it, and confirmed the King in his aversion from ever marrying a German lady.'[2]

However, the personal charm of the Count atoned for

[1] *Thurloe*, ii. pp. 694, 701, 702. [2] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. p. 114.

all that was lacking in his wife; a warm friendship quickly sprang up between him and his guest, and when the brief visit ended Charles was only suffered to depart 'upon very great importunity,' and on giving his promise to return later to hunt with the Count.[1]

November

For some days longer the King clung to his sister's company, venturing even within the dominion of the States-General. On the night of November 4 they slept at Xanten, in the house of a certain John Francis ab Hecking, who was so much flattered that he subsequently wrote to thank the King for his condescension and liberal rewards to the servants, and to beg for his portrait to hang in the chamber made sacred by his presence.[2]

Beyond this point it was not safe for Charles to go, and on the morning of Wednesday, November 5, came the long-deferred but inevitable parting from his sister. It proved as 'hard' as the kindly Queen of Bohemia had anticipated, they parted in tears, and Charles turned back towards Cologne with a heavy heart. Mary, proceeding northward to a home which was to her a tedious and almost intolerable exile, found her only solace in the remembrance of her brother's grief.

'I do not wish that sadness to continue,' she wrote to him, 'but this I may wish, that the desire of seeing us may; for I am sure, till I enjoy that happiness again, I shall not receive any real joy.'[3]

For Charles the winter months passed slowly enough at Cologne, where the available distractions were not so great as to lead him to forget his sister or his own misfortunes.

December

The kindness of the citizens left indeed nothing to be desired, and the Papal Nuncio treated the exile with respect and courtesy, but the Princes held steadily aloof. The Elector of Cologne made no visit to the city though he lived within a few miles of it, and the King's own

[1] *Thurloe*, ii. pp. 694, 701.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 127, 129, Nov. 7, 1654.
[3] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 133; *Thurloe*, ii. p. 694.

cousin, Charles Louis of the Rhine, entirely ignored his neighbourhood. Such churlishness ill became one who had been a welcome guest at the English Court in his own days of trouble and exile, but Charles, having expected little from that quarter, was the less chagrined. He now 'betook himself, with great cheerfulness, to compose his mind to his fortune,' and passed many hours daily in the study of French and Italian. For exercise he hunted when the weather permitted, 'and at other times walked much upon the walls of the city, for he had no coach.'[1] That he was not wholly without the amusements he loved is seen by his sarcastic assurance to Henry Bennett that 'My Lord Taafe is become one of the best dancers in the country, and is the chief man at all the balls,' and to the same correspondent he stated that he passed his time, 'though not so well as I could wish yet, I think as well as some of you do at Paris.'[2]

However that might be, startling reports of the proceedings at Cologne reached Paris from time to time.

'Very strange stuff comes from your Court in weekly letters,' wrote Hatton to Nicholas in November.

And again, later:—

'I will not tell you what we hear of Dr. Morley's great indiscretions—to mitigate the term it came in—at the Duke of Neuburg's entertainment, nor his other at the table of the Princess Royal's Hofmeister. . . . Nor will I return you the latest of the last hunting, whence it is said none returned sober but the greatest, and Tom Elliot to attend him.'[3]

Yet the spy who had followed Charles from Aachen declared these months to be so uneventful as to make his sojourn at Cologne a mere waste of time and money. 'All that I can say now is that R. C. is here with a few in his company. The weather is very cold, and so almost every day he walks with his said company afoot about the walls

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. 115, 116; *Thurloe*, iii. p. 19.
[2] *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 109, Dec. 22, 1654.
[3] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 134, Nov. 27, 1654; p. 156, Jan. 1, 1655.

of this city, and they all bare-headed after him ; so they get themselves heats.'[1]

In these conditions it was only to be expected that the courtiers, for want of a better occupation, would quarrel among themselves; their mutual animosities were described as being even more virulent than they had been at Paris, and exaggerated accounts of them, of course, reached the Palais Royal. It was said that 'an irreconcilable difference' existed between Hyde and Wentworth, that Wentworth was also at enmity with Fleming and Fraser, and Fraser with Newburgh, and that Gerard, Blague, Price, Langdale, and Fraser formed a clique opposed to all the rest. 'Sir Edward Hyde displeaseth, Lord Norwich absenteth, Lord Rochester murmureth, Lord Wentworth raileth, and is discontented.' All of which made 'great mirth' at the Palais Royal.

'I must confess,' wrote Hatton, 'such things break my heart, and make the Queen's Court merry.'[2]

Nicholas, to whom he addressed himself, endeavoured to soften and repudiate the stories thus repeated,[3] but to his son-in-law, Joseph Jane, he owned that they contained only too much truth.

'My greatest discouragement in the hopes of better times is the want of union amongst us'; he wrote, 'the most sober being very unsociable in business. I beseech God send more humility and soberness among us.'[4]

Even between himself and his old friend Hyde relations were somewhat strained. Hints that the Chancellor took too much upon himself and would fain render his colleague a mere cipher had borne fruit, and the old Secretary was secretly jealous of the other's place in the King's confidence. This he was too loyal to admit to the world at large, and he met all condolences with warm eulogies of his friend's character and abilities, and references to

[1] *Thurloe*, ii. p. 732.
[2] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 151, 157, Dec. 18, 1654; Jan. 1, 1655.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii. p. 170.
[4] *Domestic State Papers*, Dec. 8/18, 1654, Nicholas to Jane.

'the great friendship and kindness that hath been long and is still between Sir Edward Hyde and me.'[1]

Only to his confidant Jane did he reveal the real bitterness in his heart. 'He (Hyde) is wiser than all men in all things, and it seems because he can speak well he thinks he may do anything and never consider how great envy attends him, or how few friends he has in this Court. But he is very industrious and able in the King's affairs, and faithful to his master, though no kind friend even to those he has most reason to esteem. I say this only to yourself.'[2]

Jane, for his part, gave his fullest sympathy to his correspondent. 'When I see such animosityes among ourselves, and so causeless, I cannot wonder at the miscarriage of all affairs, the common enemy being not so hateful as wee are to one another,'[3] he declared.

Yet though the winter passed gloomily enough the gloom was still far from becoming despair. Thanks to the generous burghers of Cologne, who had provided him with 'house, firing, bread and wine,' the King was free from debt; Rochester had been kindly received at Berlin and there was good hope of collecting the subsidies of Brandenburg, Neuburg, Trèves, and Cologne.[4] With this money it might be possible to realise Rochester's dream of levying troops in the Empire and shipping them, with the aid of France and Count William of Nassau, to England or Scotland. The continued divisions in the victorious party at home gave reason to the rumours of a new Royalist rising, and as the months wore on the hope, which never deserted Charles and his friends for long together, revived once more within their breasts.[5]

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 141, 175.
[2] *Domestic State Papers*, Dec. 8/18, 1654, Nicholas to Jane.
[3] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 145.
[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 158; *Thurloe*, ii. pp. 681, 694.
[5] *Thurloe*, ii. p. 732.

CHAPTER II

Desire of the Queen for her Children's Conversion—Henry, Duke of Gloucester—His Promise to his Father—His Release—At the Hague—At Paris—The King's Instructions—Henry at Pontoise—The Attempt to Convert him—His Letter to the King—Dismissal of Lovel—Firmness of Henry—Alarm at Cologne—The King's Letters—Agitation in Paris—Arrival of Ormonde—Return of Henry to Paris—Henry Disowned by the Queen—Received by Hatton—Departure of Henry and Ormonde—Illness of Henry—Henry goes to Holland—To Cologne—Results of the Affair—Displeasure of the Pope—Approval in England—Bitterness at Paris.

CHARLES had hoped, in quitting Paris, to be released from the bitter 'contestations' with his mother which, for nearly three years past, had made his life a burden to him. But this hope, like so many others, was fore-doomed to disappointment, and in November 1654 he found himself forced into a sharp struggle for the possession of his youngest brother. From that struggle he emerged victorious, but his victory widened the breach between himself and the Queen, excited the malice of the Palais Royal, and lent point to the scandals there circulated anent the rival Court at Cologne.

It was Henrietta's ardent and natural desire to see her children enter the fold of her own Church, but her promise to her husband and her own worldly wisdom had withheld her from making a definite attack upon the faith of either of her two elder sons. Her daughter Mary had passed beyond her reach when she wedded William of Orange at the age of ten, and her two younger children, Elizabeth and Henry, had been the prisoners of the English

Parliament since 1642. Only the little Henriette Anne, born at Exeter in 1644, had remained absolutely in the control of her mother, and she had been educated from the first in the tenets of the Roman Communion. Charles had entered a protest through the Chancellor, but the situation was complicated by his inability to provide for his little sister, and he was obliged to content himself with a promise that she should not be placed in a convent.[1] In reality he cared nothing about the matter, but concerning the religion of a brother he could not afford to be supine, and the Queen's attempt to convert her youngest son threatened him with very serious difficulties.

The little Duke of Gloucester had fallen into the hands of the Parliament at the age of eighteen months when he was placed, with his sister Elizabeth, in the care of the Countess of Leicester. Until the age of seven he remained a stranger to both his parents, but when Charles I. had himself become a prisoner, his two captive children were permitted to cheer his last days. In long conversations with his son and daughter Charles sought to inspire them with the religious and political principles which he held most sacred, and at their final parting the little Henry solemnly vowed to be 'torn in pieces' rather than desert the English Church or assume the Crown in the lifetime of either of his elder brothers.

After the execution of their father the two children were removed to Carisbrooke where Elizabeth died, at the age of twelve, of a broken heart. Henry, thus left alone, was treated thenceforth as the son of a private gentleman; his title was dropped, he was known only as 'Master Harry Stuart,' and the Parliament even discussed the propriety of apprenticing him to a trade. Yet, by a curious oversight, he was permitted to retain near him a tutor in holy orders and of royalist sympathies, who was careful to keep in his mind the lessons learnt from his unhappy father and sister.[2]

As time wore on the boy's presence in the Isle of Wight

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 10. [2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlv. fol. 463.

became an embarrassment to his captors. The sight of him so moved the feelings of the people that it became necessary to confine him within the castle grounds; an idea of placing him upon the throne was supposed to be entertained for a time by Cromwell himself, and it may have been this rumour of their General's intentions that prompted a sudden resolve of the Council of State to send their young prisoner overseas.[1]

1652 December

On December 15, 1652, permission was granted to Henry Stuart to depart whither he would, and on December 27 this permission was supplemented by a grant of £500 for the hire of a vessel and other immediate expenses, together with bills of exchange to the same amount payable at Antwerp.[2] By January 14 Henry's pass was duly made out, and a vessel for the transportation of himself and four servants procured by his tutor, Robert Lovel, but an 'unexpected forcible stop' barred the way. Captain Anthony Mildmay, who had been charged with the boy's personal custody by the Parliament, not only refused to let his captive go, but confined him 'within the compass of his own lodgings,' and Henry, in great indignation, appealed to the Council to enforce its own order.

1653 January

February

'Since the time that your warrant came for my transportation I have heard but little of my liberty, and many threats to hinder my going. For Mr. Mildmay hath not only taken resolution to stay me, and to that purpose refused to accommodate me with a bed or blanket, or any utensil to carry on shipboard, but doth now lock his doors upon me, denying me liberty to walk about the castle, or to enjoy that liberty which you have alwaies granted me. . . . He hath been offered a copy of your warrant, sufficiently attested, to be left with him for his discharge, but he will not be so satisfied. I beseech you, if you think it needful, that the Governor be required to keep me from the violence of any that would hinder my passing.'

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, i. p. 310.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii. p. 5; *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, Dec. 15, 27, 1652, Proceedings in Council.

1653 This letter was accompanied by one from Colonel William Sydenham, Governor of Carisbrooke, confirming the boy's statements. New and more positive orders from the Council at last overcame Mildmay's obstinacy, and on the 12th of February 1653 Henry set sail with his tutor from Cowes.

'I saw him yesterday safely put on board the ship that was provided which lay ready at Cowes for him, whither he went and whence, the wind serving indifferent well, he forthwith set saile, without much notice or observance, which what in me lay I endeavoured to prevent and hinder,' reported Sydenham. 'Only some private men of war, off in the road, were more free in their salutes than became them. The child was accommodated with necessarys for his voyage by sea according to the Council's orders.'[1]

It was Henry's intention to join his sister at the Hague, and landing at Dunkirk, he proceeded first to Antwerp, where he was received by Lady Hyde. The impression he made on the Royalists there gathered was most favourable. Dr. Morley gave him 'an high character for natural and acquisitive abilities, for understanding and learning much above his years'; and Lovel also came in for commendation 'as a gentleman throughout these times very loyal to the King and right affected to the Episcopal Church.'

The Spaniards extended to the young Duke a courtesy which, though 'slender,' was held to imply 'some small reserve of kindness,' and at Antwerp he remained until Thomas Howard, one of his sister's gentlemen, arrived to conduct him to Holland.[2]

March At Delft he was met by Mary herself, and the meeting was attended with intense satisfaction on both sides.[3] The lonely child, who had loved and mourned his lost sister Elizabeth, responded eagerly to the affection of the impulsive and hardly less lonely Mary. She, for her

[1] *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, vol. xxxiii. ff. 9, 10, 41.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlv. ff. 157, 184, 186.
[3] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 5.

part, was enchanted by the handsome looks and bright intelligence of her new-found brother, and at once petitioned the King for leave to keep him altogether. Charles was very willing to accede to her prayer, provided the States consented to ignore the Duke's presence, but Henrietta had conceived other plans for the boy, and when she protested her desire to see the son whom she had never beheld since his infancy, it was not possible to deny so reasonable a request. Therefore, after a lapse of two months, during which Henry and Mary 'conversed with as much mutual love and joy as ever such relations did,' the boy received a summons to attend the King in Paris. Mary was in despair, and sending for Nicholas, protested 'with many tears' that she feared some 'Papist designs' upon her brother. The Secretary, who shared her fears, offered but cold comfort; yet the King's direct command could not be disobeyed, and in the middle of April 1653 the brother and sister parted 'with great passion of sorrow.'

1653

April

A fortnight of 'very pleasant travelling' quickly brought comfort to Henry; and two leagues from Paris he was met by Charles himself. At the Palais Royal he found the Queen awaiting him, and in the joyful welcome of mother and brothers he forgot his reluctance to leave his sister in Holland.[1]

May

'The sweete Duke of Gloucester arrived here on Wednesday last, and is in truth the fynest youth and of the most manly understanding that I have ever known,' wrote Hyde to Rochester, 'soe yt yow see they are now all three in one place, where I hope their stay will not be long, and when his Majesty removes his residence yt the Duke of Gloucester shall return to his sister, who is exceedingly fond of him.'[2]

It was Charles's expressed intention not to leave his brother behind him in France, but when the moment for departure came many reasons contributed to alter this resolution.

1654

[1] *Thurloe*, i. p. 397; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 168.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlv. fol. 387, May 23, 1653.

1654 April In the interval the States-General had entered into a new treaty with England which made the possibility of Henry's return to Holland more than doubtful. His extreme youth unfitted him for the conditions of Charles's wandering life, and even had it been otherwise, his maintenance must have proved a serious tax on Charles's resources. The Duke had no pension of his own, the money given him in England was already spent, and his tutor's private purse was nearly exhausted. Though a considerable part of these sums had been devoted to 'pious and liberal uses,' including the relief of the sick and suffering Dr. Cosins, Henry's charities were little admired by his unpaid servants. By January 1654 they were clamouring for their wages, and Lovel could suggest no way of raising funds short of going himself to England, for which it seemed 'an ugly time.'[1]

July In these circumstances Charles was unwilling to be burdened with his brother's company, and he yielded to the Queen's desire that he should leave Henry in her care, 'glad to content her in some things whom he could not please in divers others.'[2] Henrietta promised in return that she would not force the boy to embrace her faith, and Charles, not content with this, left written instructions on the subject for both his brothers.

Henry was charged to obey his mother on all points, excepting only those affecting religion; to pay the greatest respect to the instructions of Lovel and Dr. Cosins, to attend the ministrations of Cosins daily, and 'never miss the chapel on Sunday morning.' In case of any definite attempt to pervert him, he was to appeal to James for advice and protection.

'Intende your book and your exercises diligently, and sett some tyme aparte every daye to spende at your book with your tutor, and be always kind and regardful of him,' concluded Charles.

At the same time he informed James of the Queen's promise not to tamper with Henry's religion, and of the

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 43, 47, 100. [2] *Somers Tracts*, vi. p. 317.

order to Henry to appeal to him should that promise be broken—'In which case you will take the best care you can to prevent his being wrought upon, since you cannot but know how much you and I are concerned in it.'[1]

If the King really believed Henrietta's promise to be more than an empty form, he was over-sanguine. From the moment of his release the boy's religion had been a matter of controversy. Culpepper had pleaded earnestly that he might be educated at Leyden, a proof, as Hyde declared, that Presbyterians as well as Catholics had 'designs upon that sweet duke.'[2] The Queen's intentions had been equally obvious from the first, and rumours were freely circulated that Henry was destined to become a cardinal.

'If I were a Catholic I would never give it over,' wrote Hyde, . . . 'and if at these years I could get him hither I would not doubt to have him a cardinal in three years.'[3]

The Queen doubted no less. She had triumphed in getting her son to Paris, she had triumphed in keeping him there when the King departed, and the French Court, assured of her victory, at once added two thousand livres to her monthly pension, for the support of the Duke.

The attack was not long delayed, and the first step, the removal of Lovel, was made easy by Henry's own conduct. 'The sweet duke' was being spoilt in Paris, as his elder brother had been spoilt before him. As naturally indolent as Charles himself, he could not be induced to study or to write necessary letters, and the too easy-going tutor complained that he had not spent six hours 'at his book' within three months. Moreover, at the Academy which he attended daily for his 'exercises' Henry had met with undesirable companions. 'Some young French gallants,' his fellow-pupils, had 'grown but too kind to him,' and their influence was far from good.

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlviii. ff. 316, 324; *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 109.
[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 155.
[3] *Ibid.*, iii. p. 154; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 7, 11, 20.

1654 September

'It is exceedingly to be feared that the Duke of Gloucester will contract soe great a rudeness, besides other vices, as may be very troublesome and incorrigible another day,' wrote Hatton, 'and believe me Mr. Lovell signifies so little with him as it hath no effect but contempt on Mr. Lovell himself. . . . Indeed the Duke of Gloucester's carriage to all persons is insupportable.'[1]

October

Thus the Queen had an admirable excuse for changing her son's surroundings,[2] and in the middle of October she removed him to the house of the Abbé Montagu at Pontoise. Henry made no objection; his residence at Pontoise was pleasant enough, and a prompt improvement in his habits and manners followed on his separation from his French companions.

'He has there his business and his sport, and can hardly please himself more in following the one than he satisfies me in performing the other,' wrote Lovel to the King.[3]

Thus a week passed. Then, on October 22, Lovel was sent, on some trivial pretext, to pass the night at Paris. There he was summoned to the presence of the Queen, and by her informed of her intention to reconcile her youngest son with the Church of Rome.

'To which she said she thought herself bound, not only in conscience, as she believed her way the best to Eternity, but in prudence also, as she scarcely saw any other way by which he might be happy in this world.'[4]

Lovel replied, meekly enough, that if she chose to dismiss him, he had no more to say, but that so long as he remained with his pupil he must maintain his faith.

'As for the religion of His Highness I presumed to say that whilst I should have the honour to be near him I could not but thinke myself bound to confirm it to him.'

He added that in any case he must inform the King of what had passed.

Henrietta heard him 'mildly and kindly,' but, though

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 47, 53, 90.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 120, Nov. 6, 1654.
[3] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 78.
[4] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 77.

she did not forbid him to return to Pontoise or to write to the King, she procured the detention at the post-office of all letters addressed to England or Cologne. This precaution was made easy to her by the sympathy of the French Court, which expressed itself 'much concerned to have the Queen's purpose promoted.'[1]

Meanwhile Montagu had broached the subject of conversion to Henry himself, and spent the day in adjuring him by all possible arguments to join the Roman Communion. Henry retorted with complaints of the unfairness of attacking him in his tutor's absence, but, with the help of his page, John Griffith, he proved a tolerable controversialist and met the Abbé's arguments with some degree of success. Montagu then fell back on a more worldly reasoning. He represented the material advantages likely to follow the proposed change of faith. He urged on the boy 'that it concerned him to look after a subsistence,' since the King had left him 'partly upon the score of charge,' adding that 'it was not fit to expect' his mother to support him out of her poverty. His obedience to her wishes would, however, end all difficulties, since the Queen of France was willing, even eager, to provide him with rich benefices, and the Pope would most certainly bestow upon him a cardinal's hat. Henry answered indignantly that he would not injure his brother's cause for any personal consideration whatever, whereupon followed more insidious arguments. The Protestants had forsaken the King, and Henry's conversion would do much to gain for him the Catholic Powers. The King himself must have intended it when he left him so unguarded at Paris, and could easily save his credit with the Protestants by a formal protest, entered too late. Finally Henry fell back on the promise made to his father five years before, and declared his intention of appealing to his mother 'that he might not be made to disobey the King his father, and the King his brother, both.'[2]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 76, 77, 78, 90.
[2] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 90; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. 119.

Lovel, returning the following day, found his pupil in great distress, but still unshaken.

'For the present he seems resolute enough in the truth he has learnt,' was his report. 'However, as he is a child, so I know him to be of a nature too easy, and God knows how he may be prevailed on by these ways that will be taken with him.'

1654 November 4th — On the understanding that Henry would submit to Lovel's withdrawal if required, the two were allowed to return to the Palais Royal, and there Henry was informed by his mother that England was finally lost, 'and that there was no way for him to rise but by his book and the Church.' She added that he had undoubtedly 'lost time at his book' which must now be made up.[1]

Henry made little reply, but wrote at once to his sister Mary, begging her to find some means of compensating his tutor for the money spent in his service, and to his brother at Cologne, giving an account of what had passed at Pontoise. 'But as I am verie far from changing by anything that I have heard yet, so when anything is sayd that gives me trouble, I shall make use of those means that your Majesty has appointed for preserving of me, and be still careful to keep myself constant as to the persuasions I have, so in my obedience to your Majesty,' he concluded.[2]

November 5th — These letters were delayed like those of Lovel, and on Thursday, the day after his return to Paris, Henry sent for Dr. Cosins and complained piteously of his defenceless plight, repeating the arguments brought to bear on him by Montagu. While he was talking the Abbé himself entered, rebuked the boy, with an air of authority, for the untidy state of his hair, and having seen it rectified, led him away to the French Court. There the Queen-Mother inquired affectionately whether his conversion had been completed, to which Henrietta replied merely, 'Non pas encore.' Neither King nor Queen addressed the Duke directly.

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 90; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 109.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 162.

By this time news of the proceedings had spread among the English residents in Paris. Dr. Cosins informed Lord Hatton, with tears in his eyes, that Lovel had ceased to read prayers in the Duke's room. On the same day Sir George Radcliffe discovered active preparations for the reception of the Duke in progress at the Jesuits' College, and hastened to the Palais Royal to remonstrate. Finding Henry alone in his room, Radcliffe informed him that, by English law, any person educated in a Jesuit College was debarred from succession to the throne; that all Roman Catholics were, technically, traitors to the Crown, and that if the commands of mother and brother clashed, the maternal authority must be subordinated to that of the King. Henry heard him with attention, repeated that his father had bidden him 'to be neither Papist nor Puritan,' and then burst out with complaints of his brother's conduct. He had, he said, implored Charles to take him away, and had his request been granted, this trouble could never have occurred.[1] 1654 November 6th

He was interrupted by the entrance of Lovel, who brought word that the Queen had at last dismissed him and appointed the Abbé Montagu in his place. Protest had been met with the reply that the Queen was 'to be obeid in her own house,' and Lovel was now sent to summon Henry to her presence. The boy obeyed, and was at once informed by his mother that she intended to brook no more delay in the matter on which she had set her heart; he was therefore to be removed forthwith to the house of William Crofts, there to be duly instructed in the tenets of his new faith. Lovel was to remain behind in Paris.

Earnestly, but deferentially, Henry pleaded his promise to his father and the commands of his brother, but when the Queen demanded to see his instructions he demurred, saying that Charles had told him to keep them to himself. At last, persuaded by Lovel, he produced

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 109-114.

them from his pocket, and the Queen read them through with many adverse comments. The statement that she had promised to make no attempt on her son's religion was, she said, 'a mistake,' for she had merely agreed to employ no force. The order to listen to no controversy was adjudged 'too severe,' and when Henry was finally dismissed his cherished paper was retained by his mother. Nevertheless, the moral victory was his, and Lovel wrote hopefully to Hyde: 'The behaviour he has shown this day has been so pretty, with such affection and concernment, the matter being now come home to him, that I hope more than ever his being left alone will have no worse effect than to rouse that understanding and spirit which it is no wonder to find sleeping in children when their dangers are represented to them from a distance.'[1]

1654 November 7th

With this hope Lovel was fain to content himself when his pupil was torn from him on the following Saturday night. Vainly did Henry beg to be respited until Monday, pleading his 'want of a warm coat'; the Queen was inexorable, and the only concession obtainable was the restoration of the King's instructions, for which the boy begged vehemently. The hardest trial was yet to come, but Lovel's hope was justified in the event, and no thought of yielding ever crossed Henry's mind.

Before his departure he wrote again to Charles:

November 6th

'SIR,—On Wednesday last I came from Pontoise, and to-day the Queene spoke to me about my religion, telling me that she would have me instructed in hers. Upon that I told her what commands the King my father left me, and what the instructions were that I had received from your Majesty, both to show the care your Majesty had of me in that, and also to show that it came from your Majesty's self, and upon that I did desire that the Queene would write to your Majesty before I should heare any disputing. Then the Queene told me that I being to go to Mr. Crofts, she did not think fitting that Mr. Lovell

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 125, Nov. 6, 1654; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 119-122, 126.

should goe with me, but that he should stay here till I should come bake, and that she did not intend to put him away, but to absent him for a little while, and for the time that he shall not be with me she will allow him a pension. This is all that was sayd to me now, and when anything else shall be sayd to me, I shall not faile to give your Majesty an account, as becomes your Majesty's most affectionate, most obedient, and most humble brother, subject and servant, HENRY.'[1]

This letter was suffered to reach its destination. It was accompanied by one from Lovel to Hyde, giving a more detailed account of the scene with the Queen,[2] and also by explanatory epistles from Henrietta and Jermyn, all bearing the same date, November 6, 1654.

Jermyn's communication was carefully guarded, and merely expressed his desire to be regarded as neutral in the contest.[3] Henrietta's letter was more discursive, and contained an elaborate justification of her own conduct. Premising that the King had heard much to her prejudice, she pointed out that her duty as a mother impelled her to show her child the true Faith, and she concluded with an exhortation to Charles not to lose his head and become excited, but to think the matter over quietly, before taking any action.[4]

Hatton also despatched a long account of the affair to Nicholas, by way of Antwerp, lest it should be intercepted by the Queen, offering 'to hazard all' in the Duke's behalf,[5] and Mary, having received Henry's letter, added her voice to the outcry.

'Let me entreat you, for God's sake, quickly to take some resolution to hinder this great mischief as well for your soule's good as your body's,' she adjured Charles. 'If there be anything in which I may be useful, let me know it. I think there needs not much eloquence to make you believe how glad I should be of it, since it is

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 118, Nov. 6, 1654.
[2] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 125.
[3] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 123.
[4] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 120.
[5] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 118, 122.

sertaine doing you good service to hinder this new misfortune in our family.'[1]

1654 November 10th

Charles needed no stimulus. Henry's first letter, written on his return from Pontoise, had at last reached Cologne, and King and Court were filled with dire dismay. Whatever Charles's motives in leaving his brother at Paris, there can be no doubt that his consternation at the consequences was genuine.

'I have never seen the King so awakened as in this business, nor hath he needed any man's advice to consider of proper expedients to prevent the mischief,' wrote Hyde.

And again:

'I never in my life saw the King our Master in so great trouble and perplexity, nor of that quicknesse and sharpnesse in providing against a mischief.'[2]

Immediately on receipt of the unwelcome news Charles indicted a budget of letters, addressed to Henry, James, Henrietta, Jermyn, and Lovel, respectively, and all bearing date November 10, 1654. Each letter betrayed alarm and indignation in every line, yet it is noteworthy that even to Henry himself, Charles made no pretence of being concerned with any but the temporal aspect of the question.

'DEARE BROTHER,' he wrote, 'I have received yours without a date, in which you mention that Mr. Montague has endeavoured to pervert you in your religion. I do not doubt but you remember very well the commands I left with you concerning that point, and am confident you will observe them. Yett the letters that come from Paris say it is the Queen's purpose to do all she can to change your religion, which, if you herken to her, or to any one else in that matter, you must never thinke to see Englande or me againe, and whatsoever mischeife shall falle to me or my affairs upon this thing, I must lay all upon you as being the only cause of it. Therefore consider what it is not only to be the cause of the ruine of a brother that

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 133, 149. [2] *Ibid.*, xlix. ff. 144, 158, 159.

loves you so well but also of your King and country, and doe not lett them persuade you either by force or fine promises. For the first they will neither dare, nor will use, and for the seconde, as soon as they have got you they will have their end and will care no more for you. I heare also that there is a purpose to put you into the Jesuits' College, which I command you, upon the same grounds, never to consent to. And whensoever anybody shall goe to dispute with you on religion do not answer them at all, for though you have reason on your side, yet they, being prepared, will have the advantage of anybody that is not upon the same security that they are.

'I have commanded this bearer, my Lord of Ormonde, to speake more at large to you upon this subject, therefore give him credit in all that he shall say to you as if it were from myself. And if you doe not consider what I say to you, remember the last words of your deade father, which were to be constant in your religion, and never to be shaken in it; which, if you do not observe this, shall be the last time you will ever heare from your most affectionat brother, CHARLES R.'[1]

No less passionate was the appeal addressed to James:

'I conjure you, as you love the memory of your father, if you have any care of yourself, or kindnesse for me to hinder, all that lies in your power, any such practices, without any consideration of any person whatsoever.'[2]

Henrietta, in her turn, was reminded of her promise not to change 'Harry's religion,' and sharply reproached for the dismissal of Lovel, and her rumoured intentions regarding the Jesuits' College.

'I must confesse,' concluded her son, 'that this newes does trouble me so much that I cannot say all that I could at another time, but upon the whole matter I must conclude that if your Majesty does continue to proceed in the change of my brother's religion, I cannot expect your Majesty does either believe or wish my

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 137; *Thurloe*, i. p. 601; *Evelyn*, iv. p. 206.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 137.

return into England. For you will force me to do that which must disoblidge all Catholics, and on the other side all that I can say or doe will never make my Protestant subjects believe but it is done with my consent, and all that I can say or doe is only a grimace. Therefore, if your Majesty has the least kindnesse for me, I beg you not to press him further in it, and to remember the last wordes of my deade father, whose memory I doubt not will worke upon you, which were, to charge him, upon his blessing never to change his religion. Whatsoever mischeife shall fall ether upon me or my affairs hereafter will be layd upon your Majesty as the only cause of them and the undoer of your son. I beseech you to consider this, for your oune sake and myne.'[1]

To Jermyn Charles wrote with an even greater asperity, avowing plainly his disbelief in his declaration of innocence.

'I must tell you this myself, that if you doe not use all the meanes possible you can to prevent my brother from being seduced, and not only say but *give testimonyes* of it that may satisfie mee and all the world you do your best, you must never thinke to see mee again, and this shall be the last time you shall ever heare from me, being so full of passion that I cannot expresse myself. Consider well of this, and if I have not my desire granted it will be such a breach between the Queen and me as can never be made up again.'[2]

Lovel was merely ordered to return to his pupil and never again desert him, but Hyde added to the King's letter one from himself reproaching the tutor for 'softness' and 'wariness' and a too ready submission to the Queen.[3]

Ormonde, who had volunteered to go to the rescue of the little Duke, was intrusted with the delivery of these letters, to which were added formal instructions, intended to secure him credence at Paris. The instructions bore

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 135.
[2] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 136.
[3] *Ibid.*, xlix. ff. 142, 143.

the same date as the letters, and charged Ormonde to repeat, with all possible emphasis, all that Charles had already said to his mother and brothers. He was to bid James quit the French service, rather than withhold assistance from Henry, to warn Percy and Jermyn that their supineness had excited the King's deep displeasure, and, in the case of Henry having entered the Jesuit College, to remonstrate personally with the Cardinal and French Queen. If his remonstrances prevailed to restore Henry to the society of Dr. Cosins and the exercise of his religion, Ormonde was to feign full satisfaction and return alone, after secretly arranging for the boy's escape to Holland. If, on the other hand, his remonstrances were without effect he was to inform the Queen boldly that he had come to conduct Henry to Cologne, and to demand protection from the French Court should any difficulties be placed in the way of departure.[1]

Thus armed Ormonde set forth on November 11, the day after Henry's first letter had reached Cologne. On the 12th he arrived at Liége and thence took the route by Brussels for France, the shorter way by Sedan being made impassable by Condé's troops. Even the longer route was by no means free from danger, for the peasants were up in arms, and it was only with much difficulty and at great expense that the Irish Marquis was able to hire horses for so perilous a journey.[2] 1654 November 11th

Within a few days of Ormonde's departure Charles was reassured by the arrival of Henry's second letter, of November 6, and he wrote kindly in reply:

'DEARE BROTHER,—I have received yours of the 6th of this month and am very glad to find, both by your oune letter as well as by others, your handsome carriage in this businesse, which really has joyed me so much that I cannot say enough to thank you for it, and to encourage you in the continuance of that which you have so well begun.'

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 139, Nov. 10, 1654.
[2] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 145, Nov. 13, 1654.

At the same time he wrote again to his mother, admitting that she had acted for the best, according to her own judgment, but adding, 'in this I must absolutely differ from your Majesty' and begging her 'not to compel my brother, by obeying me, which I am confident he will do, to be disobedient to your Majesty.'[1]

1654 November

Feeling meanwhile raged high in Paris, where the English colony thought and talked of nothing but the Duke. Jermyn and Percy were loud in condemnation of the King and Council, whom they professed to regard as wholly responsible, since 'the world must know it was the fault of the King's Counsellors, who took no pains to secure the Duke of Gloucester.'

On the other hand Hatton did not hesitate to assert that Jermyn, Percy, and Berkeley were all secretly in league with Montagu 'on the score of the great Church revenue should be heaped on the Duke of Gloucester, whereof they should have their shares, and he kept like a schoolboy.'

From this suspicion Percy endeavoured to clear himself by quitting Paris, and Jermyn by making great 'shewes of religion,' which, observed the sceptical Hatton, only proved them 'the deeper in the plot.'

Lovel he condemned with almost equal severity, for his weakness in deserting his charge, but in Radcliffe he found a staunch ally, and the two would have stolen the Duke away, could they have obtained access to him.[2]

Within a few days Henry had been removed from Crofts' house to Pontoise, where the campaign re-opened with fresh vigour. The boy was told that the King had left him in Paris with the purpose of making his conversion easy, and that any objections coming from him were a mere formality; that he owed obedience to his mother rather than to his brother, and that since the marriage articles, which gave the Queen control of her children's education for the first twelve years, had been broken, she

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 151, 152, Nov. 17, 1654.
[2] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 122, 126-130, 132, 134-135.

ought in justice to retain her youngest son altogether. Through all the little Duke remained unmoved. To arguments of a worldly nature he opposed his given promise, and those of a theological character he met with counter arguments supplied by Dr. Cosins. Since it was quite impossible for the Dean to obtain speech with him, these arguments had been drawn up on paper and secretly conveyed to the page, Griffith, by Hatton, who, as Montagu's relative, had an excuse for visiting Pontoise. Griffith, aware that his master could read nothing unobserved, committed the contents of the paper to memory, and taught them to Henry when both were in bed at night, the only time when they could speak to each other unheard. The arguments were duly reproduced by Henry as occasion served, and he steadily maintained an attitude which Lovel could only describe as 'incomparable.'[1]

The tutor had contrived to keep up communication through Lord Inchiquin's young son, William O'Brien, who was not suspected as an older person might have been. But when James came to Paris on November 18, in answer to Henry's summons, he was not allowed to see his brother and was obliged to content himself with writing.[2] November 18th

On the next day, November 19, came the letters from the King, sent by Ormonde in advance. That from Charles to Henry was enclosed under cover to Radcliffe, who was charged to deliver it into Henry's own hand, and thus found himself in a serious dilemma. Hatton, who had visited Pontoise more than once, only to find the Duke 'closely beset,'[3] offered to undertake the errand, but eventually agreed that it would be best executed by Radcliffe who was protected by the King's command. Radcliffe accordingly went to Pontoise, but failed to speak privately with Henry, and was obliged to intrust the letter to Griffith, who faithfully delivered it to his master.[4] November 19th

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 178, Nov. 27, 1654; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 131, Nov. 20, 1654. [2] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 132. [3] *Ibid.*, ii. p. 133. [4] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 131, 134, Nov. 20, 1654.

1654 November 20th

Henry immediately made a copy of the King's letter which he sent to the Queen at Chaliot, thereby increasing the wrath already aroused by Charles's letter to herself. She vowed that the boy should forthwith be sent to the Jesuits at Clermont, and was only restrained from executing her threat by the representations of Jermyn, Crofts, and Berkeley, who begged her to delay until she had again heard from Montagu.[1]

Thwarted in this, Henrietta vented her feelings in answering her eldest son's letter to herself, couching her reply in language reproachful and sarcastic. She would, she told him, willingly lay down her life for him, but even for his sake she could not neglect her first duty, the salvation of her children's souls, and referring to Charles's threat of an 'irreparable breach' between them, she added:

'I have the advantage of assuring you that you can never displease me to such a degree, and that, notwithstanding all that I have to complain of in the past, and all that you may add in the future, I shall never cease to wish for your greatness and return to England, as ardently as you can yourself desire them.'[2]

Jermyn wrote in the same strain, observing that he could scarcely have exerted himself more strenuously in the King's service had he been honoured with requests instead of threats, and that he found 'consolation' for the loss of the King's countenance in the ease with which it was withdrawn from him. He had, he said, argued much with the Queen, and would continue to do his duty, but the ultimate blame for the whole matter must rest with those whose business it was to prevent 'a thing so easy to see,' that is to say, with Charles himself.[3]

November 21st

That night, Friday, November 20, Ormonde arrived 'late and weary' at Paris, and on the following morning he presented himself at the Palais Royal. There he found only James, who told him that he had only been allowed

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 131 ; *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 173, Nov. 27, 1654.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 154, Nov. 20, 1654.
[3] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 136, Nov. 20, 1654.

to see Henry in the Queen's presence, and under promise not to speak of matters of religion. But in the evening Henrietta returned and summoned the Marquis to an audience. A long conversation followed in which Henrietta declared herself impelled to her course of action by the dictates of conscience, repeating that she had only promised the King to use no violence. Ormonde replied gravely that her treatment of Henry looked very like violence, whereupon she said that Charles had only turned back casually at parting to beg her to retain Lovel near his brother, and that the tutor's dismissal had been by his own consent and desire. To this Ormonde again demurred, and Henrietta retracted the statement, but said that Jermyn had told her it could not injure the King. Jermyn's hasty denial she received with the exclamation, 'Allez! Allez! vous êtes un impertinent!' and she finally dismissed Ormonde with the remark that he need not go to Pontoise as Henry would speedily return to Paris.

November 22nd

The Marquis had the discretion to receive this intimation in silence, and early next morning he went to Pontoise, where the unexpectedness of his arrival enabled him to see the Duke. Henry welcomed him eagerly, clung to him, implored him not to leave him, and poured into his fatherly ears the whole history of his troubles. 'I confesse I was astonished at the pertinence and method of his discourse to me, which by all the discourses I have since had with him I find to be as natural to him as his duty to your Majesty (is) most constant and firme,' wrote Ormonde to the King[1].

November 23rd

Henrietta, finding it no longer possible to isolate her son, permitted his return to Paris with Ormonde on Monday, November 23, and declared that she would not oppose his departure for Cologne. Jermyn, however, informed Ormonde privately that any attempt to remove the Duke would be frustrated by the French Court, now openly enlisted in the cause, and though the mode

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 167, Nov. 27, 1654; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 158.

of attack was changed the fight was by no means abandoned.[1]

1654 November 26th — On the evening of Thursday, November 26, the Cardinal and the Queen-Mother both took upon themselves to urge Henry to obey his mother, rather than his dead father, claiming him kindly as 'a child of France.' Henry declined to argue, in accordance with Charles's instructions, and at once reported the conversation to Ormonde.

November 27th — 'MY LORD,—I pray let the King know that the Queen of France spoke to me last night about going to the Jesuits' College, and obeying the Queen my mother in this, and that I ought to obey her. . . . Pray let him know that Mr. Lovel is very much troubled that (*sic*) so false a report as that of his complying with the Queen in making me a Papist.' He added a note in vindication of Jermyn, Crofts, Berkeley, and Percy, alleging that the three first had preserved him from the dreaded College, and that Percy had assisted him to uphold the King's authority against Montagu.[2]

Two days passed and Henry, strengthened by Ormonde's protecting presence, steadily refused to return to Pontoise, to accompany his mother to church at Chaliot, or to be read to by any one in the continued absence of Lovel.

November 28th — Henrietta felt that she was losing ground, and on Saturday, November 28, she resolved to bring matters to a crisis. Calling Henry to her side she overwhelmed him with kind words and caresses, entreating him, for love of her, to yield and enter the Jesuits' College. When he was about to answer she checked the words on his lips, and bade him listen carefully to Montagu, and reflect well before he made his final reply. Seeing himself threatened anew Henry secretly sent Griffith for Ormonde, and resigned himself to hear Montagu's eloquence, without comment. At the end of an hour he was joined by Ormonde, who found that he had already formulated

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 176, Nov. 27, 1654.
[2] *Ibid.*, xlix. ff. 173, 175, Nov. 27, 1654.

his intended reply unassisted. This was to the effect that he was 'extremely afflicted' to be unable to obey both his mother and brother, but found that the King's commands were the 'more suitable to his inclination and his duty.'

This answer he delivered to the Queen at nightfall.

'Whereupon,' reported Ormonde, 'shee tould him that shee would no more own him as her son, commanded him out of her presence, forbade him any more to set foot in her lodgings, and tould him she would allow him nothing but his Chamber to lie in till I should provide for him, to whom, she sayd, hee might apply himself.'[1]

Henry, 'full of tears and astonishment,' fled to James, who pitied and soothed him until at last he fell asleep, worn out with grief and agitation.

Next morning James essayed to plead with his mother, but only drew down her displeasure on himself. Thenceforth, she said, she would communicate with her two sons through Montagu only, and with this rebuff James returned to his young brother. They were presently joined by Montagu, who pointed out the poverty and difficulties into which their mother's desertion must plunge them, and urged them to seek forgiveness ere it was too late. Henry complied so far as to intercept the Queen when she went out to Mass, and, kneeling in the way, to beseech her blessing, but Henrietta swept by without vouchsafing him a look. It was the last straw, Henry's meekness was at an end, and when Montagu would have offered condolences he was cut short with the words: 'What my mother says to me I say to you; I pray be sure I see you no more.' November 29th

So speaking the Duke turned away, but Montagu still pursued him with the question: 'Whither are you going, sir?'

'To church!' returned Henry defiantly, over his shoulder, and proceeded with James to the house of Sir Richard Browne, where there was a celebration of the

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 187, Dec. 2, 1654.

Holy Communion, according to Anglican rites. As the Queen had denied him food, he dined with Hatton, and in the evening went to church again. After service he ventured back to the Palais Royal, hoping to see his little sister Henriette before the Queen's return from vespers. But the child, distracted between fear of her mother and love for her brother, broke out into passionate wailing on his approach.

'Oh God, my brother! Oh me, my mother! I am undone for ever! What shall I do!'

Seeing she could not be pacified, Henry retreated to his own room, which he found dismantled, the very sheets having been removed from the bed. As a climax his groom appeared to ask what was to be done with his two horses, which the Queen's Comptroller refused to keep in the stables over night.

1654 November 30th

Comfort came at daybreak in the person of Ormonde, who declared his intention of taking Henry to the King. The fact that the Queen withheld her consent made no difference to his resolution, but the lack of necessary funds involved some delay. In the interval Crofts would have given Henry the shelter of his house, but the Queen forbade him to receive her son, and Henry, perceiving him to be 'troubled,' refused to embroil him with his mistress. Hatton next offered hospitality, but the Duke still demurred, knowing that it might cost his host such property as yet remained to him in England, and would certainly earn him the displeasure of the French and English Queens. Hatton, however, protested that he counted no risks in such a cause, and Henry's scruples vanished before a threatened visit from his aunt, the Queen of France.

When Anne of Austria arrived at the Palais Royal her nephew was nowhere to be found, and the two Queens, who had not expected this dénouement, were filled with consternation. For the moment they thought their victim had escaped them, but inquiries soon discovered his refuge, and the French Queen's younger son, Philippe, Duc

d'Anjou, was despatched in pursuit, with his governor, the Marquis Du Plessis. They were the bearers of new terms, and Henry was now promised that he should no more be troubled with religious controversy if he would avert a breach in his family by entering the Jesuit College. He replied that such disobedience to the King's positive command would in itself suffice to make the breach, and after a long dispute, in which Ormonde and Hatton joined, Du Plessis and his charge retired, with loss of temper.

This ended the struggle; Henry avowed himself more than ever attached to his father's church, and his mother abandoned the attempt to win him. Passes for himself and his following were granted by the French Court, but neither of the two Queens would admit him to take leave of them, and though he wrote humbly to his mother, begging her forgiveness and blessing before his departure, she refused to receive the letter.[1]

He found some consolation for this harshness in the affectionate kindness of James, and in the admiration of his exiled compatriots who flocked to congratulate the young hero and martyr. Even among the French he was not without sympathisers. James's friend Turenne came to express approval of his steadfastness, joined with many exhortations to keep 'a perfect union' with his two brothers, and to 'detest all cabals' against the King's counsels. The fair Duchesse de Châtillon also made him her compliments, and his uncle, César de Vendôme, openly condemned the whole affair, exclaiming 'with admiration at the madness of it.'[2] 1654 December

Ormonde was meanwhile seeking to raise money for the journey to Cologne. For this purpose he sold his George, the last jewel he possessed, but the sum thus obtained was insufficient, and eventually 5000 livres were advanced by a merchant, on security given by Radcliffe and Hatton. Before parting Ormonde would

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 187, 196; Carte's *Ormonde*, iii. pp. 143, 642; *Somers Tracts*, vi. pp. 322-324; Green's *Princesses*, vi. p. 419.

[2] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 142, 150, 151; Dec. 11, 18, 1654.

fain have made some compensation for the cost of the Duke's entertainment, but Hatton rejected the offer.

'My Lord would have considered the expences, but truly my hart could not stoop to it,' he wrote, '. . . I take pleasure to exhaust myself for any of that race.'[1]

This generosity was fortunate, since the funds at Ormonde's disposal were none too large, and it was with many grateful thanks for the timely aid that Henry at last took leave of his host on the afternoon of Friday, December 18.

1655 January

Ormonde had written to the Chancellor, resigning his own lodgings to the Duke, and requesting that others might be found for himself as near the Court as might be, but this sacrifice was prohibited by the King, who declared that he could make room for his brother without inconveniencing the Marquis.[2] The arrival of the travellers was eagerly anticipated at Cologne, and not less by themselves.

Henry, overjoyed at his escape from Paris, sent jocular messages to his old friends the Counsellors, declaring himself assured of Nicholas's company 'at all his sports,' though he feared the Chancellor 'would be lazy.' But some months were destined to elapse before he could put them to the test.[3]

It had been decided to pass through Flanders as the safer though longer route, and at Antwerp Henry fell seriously ill. Ormonde was at first inclined to attribute his languor to mere fatigue induced by a day of sight-seeing, and a night spent at Brussels toll in consequence of some delay regarding passes. But when the Spanish Commander had at last sent the passes with apologies and explanations, it became evident that the Duke was suffering from a fever. Ormonde was in despair, not only on account of anxiety for his charge, but at the thought

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 147, 150.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 190, 206; Dec. 2, 22, 1654.
[3] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 134.

of the expense involved. All his money must now, he said, be spent on doctors, and he added mournfully:

'God send us a better new year than the old one has been. I am in an uneasy bottome; I wish the scale may turn speedily where ever it must rest at last.'[1]

Charles at once despatched his own physician, Dr. Fraser, to his brother's assistance, but it was the end of January before Henry could resume his journey, and then money had to be raised afresh by Daniel O'Neil.[2]

In the interim the Princess Mary had appealed to Charles for a visit from her youngest brother, and her request was supported by her aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, who protested:

'I am sure our Hoghens Moghens will take no notice of it, if they be not asked the question, as they were for the King's coming to Breda.'[3]

Charles was very willing to accede to this proposal, provided it involved no danger to guest or hostess, but he displayed considerable anxiety for the safety of Ormonde, who, it was said, would be certainly arrested in Holland.

'I am so allarumed with the discourses that are here of the danger you run of being arrested in Holland, that I cannot chuse but conjure you to have a care of yourself.' He wrote: 'The plain truth of it is that they do so talk of it that I believe some of us doe it rather to put the Hollanders in mind of us, than to prevent any dangers of that kind, and therefore pray have the more care. I have written by this post to my sister to ask her advise what I shall doe with my brother, and have consented to his stay there for some time if she think it best, but I desire you to inform yourself very well whether there be the least inconvenience to my sister in any respect, and if there be to bring him to me as soon as you can conveniently. However I would be glad to see you here, for I believe

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 253, 269, Jan. 1, 5, 1655.
[2] *Ibid.*, xlix. ff. 269, 276, 293, Jan. 5, 19, 1655.
[3] *Evelyn, Diary*, iv. p. 219.

I shall have use of you very shortly, and I shall be in pain as long as you stay there.'[1]

Ormonde admitted in reply that he had already been warned by Dr. Morley:

'Yet I think I shall go when the Duke is in case to travel,' he concluded lightly, 'for a good prison, if I can compasse it honestly, is no ill preferment to your faithful servant.'[2]

To the relief of his friends, he subsequently changed this intention, and Henry was conducted by Nicholas Armorer to Teyling, where he joined his sister on January 26. For some time the States-General ignored his presence, and even suffered a visit to the Hague to pass unremarked,[3] but, as the weeks wore on, rumours of Royalist activity in England combined with the restless movements of Charles himself to excite uneasiness. Henry's royal airs, particularly his habit of mounting his horse at the foot of the staircase, rather than in the court-yard, increased the irritation of the States, and they privately required from the Princess the prompt dismissal of her brother. Mary ignored the message, but Charles, warned by Lady Stanhope, proved wiser, and his summons to Cologne reached Henry at the critical moment when the States-General were actually debating his seizure or banishment. Being assured of his speedy departure, they consented to let the matter drop, and on May 14 Henry set out for Cologne.[4]

1654 May

Thus closed the most exciting episode in Henry of Gloucester's brief career, but it was not without serious consequences, such as Charles himself had foreseen. For weeks the eyes of Europe had been fixed upon the struggle for possession of the boy, and to the Roman Catholic powers the issue was unpleasing. Several princes, including the Elector of Cologne, declared themselves alienated by the King's conduct, and the Pope

[1] *Historical MSS. Com.*, Rept. xiv. App. 7, p. 13.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 206, 274.
[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 300; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 179, 203.
[4] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 216 273-274, 284.

HENRY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

From the engraving by C. Van Dalen in the British Museum.

himself was much offended. This was the more unfortunate, because Charles had just reopened negotiations with the Papacy through the Nuncio at Cologne.

On his first meeting with the Nuncio in a convent garden, Charles had made many promises of toleration and favour to English Roman Catholics in the event of his being restored to his throne. Subsequently communication had been kept up by Lord Taafe, and an Irish Jesuit, Peter Talbot, who did not scruple to hint that the King himself was open to conversion if it were made worth his while. But such sordid bargaining did not commend itself to the Nuncio, and when the struggle over Henry became public gossip, he declared his faith in Charles's promises shaken.

Taafe and Talbot endeavoured to prove to him that the King had been actuated by stern necessity, and that Henry himself had strongly objected to change his faith, to which he replied: 'That he would have a great deal of satisfaction in the certainty of that,' but found it hard to believe that the effects on England could be so disastrous as Charles averred. He added that thenceforth all Roman Catholics would hesitate to assist the exile, and that if he himself laid Charles's recent promises before the Pope, he would 'bee held in Rome for a lyar.'

Further mischief was done by members of the Court, who assured the Calvinists of the town that the King's 'civility' to Roman Catholics was merely 'a false subterfuge.' Talbot denied this strenuously, protesting that the King and his counsellors 'were all men of moderate and honest principles, noe way tending to persecute religion,' but was answered that he was himself deceived. Nevertheless the Nuncio was persuaded to represent the matter at Rome in the most favourable light, and to assure the Pope that Charles himself had not displayed much anxiety for his brother's rescue.[1]

[1] *Gardiner*, iii. pp. 124-125; *Thurloe*, ii. p. 677; iii. p. 19; *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 204, Dec. 14, 1654; *Roman Transcripts*, Record Office, Nuncio to Pope, Dec. 10-20, 1654.

Charles might console himself with reflections on the doubtful character of the advantages to be derived from Henry's conversion. Murmurs had already been heard that Henry IX. was destined to repair the mischief wrought by Henry VIII., and it was obvious that a Roman Catholic brother would add a new element of danger to the situation.[1]

Moreover, the incident had not happened altogether inopportunely. It has been called 'a magnificent advertisement' for the King, and so in some respects it was.[2] In the most convincing manner possible it demonstrated his fidelity to the Anglican Church and gave the lie to the reports that he was himself a 'Papist.' At a juncture when a cavalier rising was preparing in England this was not without its value, and some of Charles's friends were anxious to have the whole history made public. This project was, however, discouraged by Nicholas.

'I agree with you that it were much to the King's honour that his care and piety to prevent the Duke of Gloucester being perverted were known to all friends in England and in foreign parts,' he wrote, 'but it would so reflect on the Queen-Mother that, though I am one of those she most hates, I disadvise it, especially the publishing of any of the King's letters or despatches about it.'[3]

The old Secretary was wise, the breach between King and Queen was already sufficiently great, and to widen it further would have been a fatal mistake. In Paris the feeling between the two rival parties was very bitter, and Hatton found the Queen's anger so uncomfortable that he declared he would be obliged to leave France.[4] His feelings were further injured by the apparent ingratitude with which his services had been received at Cologne. Ormonde had urged the King to

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 193; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 109.
[2] *Gardiner*, iii. p. 124.
[3] *Dom. State Papers*, lxxvii. fol. 52, Dec. 8-18, 1654.
[4] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 158, 162, 166.

write his thanks and acknowledgments, but in March no thanks had been received, and Hatton wrote disconsolately to Nicholas: 'I have not had directly or indirectly a remembrance from the Duke of Gloucester since he went hence, for which I blame him not at all.'[1]

The inference was that this neglect was due to Lovel, who regarded Hatton as his personal enemy. In this he was not unreasonable, for that ingenious gossip had represented him from the first as a mere tool of the Queen, and had gone on to assert that he was actually of Jermyn's faction and a pensioner of the Court of France. By January 1655 he was accused of intimacy with some of Thurloe's English spies.

'In fine, name me here a villain and I will demonstrate to you some extraordinary acts of intimacy between him and Mr. Lovell.'[2]

But Hatton was too well known to Charles and his counsellors to be taken very seriously, and they listened more readily to Ormonde, who deemed the tutor honest, though weak, and advised that he should be reassured of the King's good opinion before he went, as he purposed, to England.

'For though I really believe him very honest, yet I thinke him not so master of his passions, so cleare of judgment, or so voyd of ability to tell his tale, or of creditt with good and able men, but that he may do mischief, even beyond his purpose.'[3]

This placable counsel suited both Charles and his Chancellor. Now that their victory was assured they were disposed to a conciliatory policy, and at the end of December 1654 the King made overtures of peace to both his mother and Jermyn. The courtier met the overture with apparent gratitude, but the Queen remained irreconcilable, and refused even to answer her son's letter.

'It is impossible—as she looks upon the business—for her to forget absolutely so soon,' explained Jermyn.[4]

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 208. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. pp. 152, 155.
[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 293, Jan. 19, 1654. [4] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 277.

CHAPTER III

Royalist Reaction in England—The Sealed Knot—Scheme for a General Rising—The King's Letters—Unpopularity of Cromwell—The Levellers' Plot—Royalist Preparations—Lack of Secrecy—Cromwell's Knowledge of the Plot—Two Royalist Factions—Ormonde at Antwerp—Messages from England—The King's Indecision—O'Neil sent to England—Delay—Alarm of the English Government—Precautionary Measures—Return of Exiles—Connivance of Port Officials—Rochester—O'Neil—Day of Rising settled—Failure in the North—Penruddock's Rising in the West—Escapes of Royalists—General Sympathy for them—Fate of the Prisoners—Recriminations—Causes of Failure.

1653 November

WHILE Charles lingered at Cologne with such patience as he could muster, his adherents at home had not been idle. Since the summer of 1653 a Royalist reaction had been steadily growing in England, and in the autumn of that year Nicholas Armorer was sent over to inquire into the state of affairs. His impression was, on the whole, favourable, and on November 14-24 he reported to Nicholas:

'I find the King's business in a fair readiness if his friends here be put in the right way. But it will be most necessary for him to fix on one or two of the most prudent to make it their business to attend his affairs and to put them into a form that there may be no clashing. This is the sense of all his friends that I speak with. I leave it to you for the satisfaction they are to receive in it, and the sooner the resolution is taken in this the more it will be for his Majesty's advantage. And unless such a course be taken there will be much more uncertainty in the success.'

To this Nicholas replied that the Royalists at home must themselves make choice of 'fit and faithful persons,' who should then receive due authorisation from the King. 'For that . . . I conceive the King cannot so well know who, being fit and willing to take such a trust, will be agreeable to them.'[1]

1653 December

The result of this correspondence was the appointment of a secret committee, known as 'The Sealed Knot,' to be charged thenceforth with the management of the Royalist interest at home. Its members numbered some seven or eight, and included Sir William Compton, Sir Charles Littleton, Sir Richard Willys, Edward Villiers, John Russell, Lord Bellasys, and possibly Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir Humphrey Bennett. They met, according to the spy, Manning, 'sometimes in the Temple and sometimes in London,' and their first care was 'to fix in every county some considerable and active persons: this done, then to provide arms; which done, then to treat with some persons of the army and late Parliament party, which Colonel Grey, Sir Humphrey Bennett, and Major-General Browne were ordered to do.'

1654 February

All due caution was observed, each agent being sworn to secrecy and made known to only one member of the Knot, yet the first plot designed under these auspices failed at the outset, and merely revealed to the Government the existence of a Royalist committee.[2]

May

The plotters refused to be discouraged, and planned next a general rising for the summer of 1654, but in May the Government was prematurely alarmed by the discovery of Henshaw's plot for the assassination of the Protector.[3] In face of renewed vigilance and severity it was judged unwise to proceed, and the intended insurrection was indefinitely postponed.

July

But though postponed, it was not abandoned, and when Charles left France in July 1654 his dark hour was unex-

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 30, December 4, 1653.
[2] *Thurloe State Papers*, iii. pp. 64, 355.
[3] *The King in Exile*, pp. 420-428.

pectedly cheered by hopeful news from England. As he passed through Mons on his way to Spa he was met by emissaries of the Sealed Knot, and there, on July 16, they laid before him the plans for the projected rising.

In the north Sir Philip Musgrave had provided 300 horse and 1500 arms, secured a promise of adhesion from many of his friends, and undertook to possess himself of Carlisle and Tynemouth Castle. Lord Newport and Lord Shrewsbury had a considerable force in Shropshire, and plans were laid for the seizure of the castles of Ludlow, Beaumaris, Warwick, and Denbigh. The counties of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex had levied each some 500 men, and Plymouth, Portsmouth, Nottingham, Sandwich, and Shrewsbury were to be secured by Sir John Grenvile, Sir Humphrey Bennett, Lord Byron, Sir Thomas Peyton, and Colonel Screven, respectively. The west was confessedly left 'much unprovided' by the recent death of Lord Beauchamp, but it was believed that his father, Lord Hertford, 'would not be idle,' despite his advanced age, and with the aid of the Arundels, Grenviles, and Courtenays in Devon, and the Wyndhams in Somerset, it was hoped to supply the loss. Sir George Booth, a Presbyterian, undertook to raise Cheshire, and other influential members of his church promised their support. Lord Willoughby, whose influence lay in the eastern counties, was joined with Compton, Willys, Sir Thomas Littleton, and the Earls of Oxford and Northamptonshire. Fairfax was confidently expected to lend his aid in Yorkshire, and the Coventries and Talbots busied themselves in Worcestershire. In short, the King might reasonably look for a rising in every county of England and North Wales. Middleton still lingered in Scotland, where such an insurrection in England might 'yet give new life to the now dying condicion of affaires.' Even in Ireland there was a slight hope left. Lord Ardres and Mark Trevor engaged to seize the town and castle of Carrickfergus, in which was a considerable store of arms; Colonel King promised Galway, and there were hopes of Londonderry and

Athlone. The transplanted Irish in Connaught might be counted on for horse and foot, and they looked eagerly for the arrival of their old leaders, Ormonde and Inchiquin.

In return for all these promises the Sealed Knot demanded letters of encouragement for Fairfax and his brother-in-law, Harrington, and required that Sir Marmaduke Langdale should be sent to lead the northern forces, and Ormonde or James to command in Kent and Surrey. Finally they urged Charles to act before the meeting of the next Parliament, since they could not long remain undiscovered.[1]

Charles assented readily enough, and at once prepared letters, instructions, and commissions as desired, suggesting some time in September as suitable for action.[2] To Stephens and the colleague who had brought the report he announced himself 'exceedingly satisfied' with the account received, adding, 'I am glad you resolve to return so speedily and can do it so securely, for I doubt not you will encourage my friends to lose as little tyme as is possible. . . . If they could so concert the business as to rise in several places of the kingdom together I am persuaded that it would be attended with success, especially if they agreed upon the tyme, and I am sure I would be ready to bear any part they would wish.'

At the same time he wrote even more decidedly to Colonel Grey. 'The truth is I have been so tender of my friends that I have deferred to call upon them to appear till I could find myself able to give them good encouragement from abroade, but since I finde that comes on so slowly I will no longer restrain those affections which I most desire to be beholding to, and I have reason to believe that if they who wish one and the same thing knew each other's mind the work would be done without any difficulty; and if there were any handsome appearance in any one place the rest would not sit still, and I

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlviii. fol. 326, J. Stephens to the King, July 16, 1654; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 66, 189; *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 64, 196, 315, 355.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlviii. fol. 328.

am persuaded I should find supplyes from those who are yet afraid to offer them. However I am sure I would myself be with those who first wished for me, and to that purpose I will keep myself within a reasonable distance.'[1]

These letters tally ill with the cautious attitude attributed to Charles by Hyde, who represents him as warning his friends against 'any desperate or unreasonable attempt,' and naming two contingencies only which could justify a rising, the one a violent schism in the English army, the other the death of the Protector, 'which was conspired by the Levellers under several combinations.'[2]

As the months wore on it seemed probable that one or both of these contingencies might very soon arise. The establishment of the Protectorate had not solved Cromwell's difficulties, and Presbyterians, Levellers, and Fifth-Monarchists alike cried out against the Protector as a traitor who had robbed them of all for which they had fought and suffered.

'Because he hath oppressed and forsaken the poor, because he hath violently taken away a house which he builded not . . . the flying roll of God's curses shall overtake the family of that great thief there; he that robbed us of the benefit of our prayers, our tears, our blood. . . . The cause of Christ is made the cause of a man,' declared the preacher, John Rogers.

Other fanatics, such as Christopher Feake and John Simpson, denounced the new Government in no less violent terms, and they found a certain sympathy even among the saner Puritans.[3] The army, disappointed of earlier hopes, was discontented, a strong Republican party existed in the nation, all were weary of taxation and despotism, and some verses found in the pocket-book of Colonel Robert Overton voiced, not inaptly, the general sentiment:

> 'A Protector! what's that? 'Tis a stately thing,
> That confesseth itself but the ape of a King,

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlviii. ff. 329, 330, July 16, 1654.
[2] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. 101.
[3] *Thurloe*, iii. p. 483; *Gardiner*, iii. p. 114

A tragicall Cæsar, acted by a Clowne,
A brass farthing stamped with a kind of a crowne,
A bubble that shines, a loude cry without woole,
Not Perillus nor Phalaris, but the bull,
The echo of monarchy, till it come,
The butt end of a barrell in the shape of a drum,
A counterfeit piece that woodenly shows
A golden effigies with a copper nose,
A fantastick shadow of a sovereign head,
The arms royal reversed, and disloyal instead.
In fine he is one we may Protector call
From whom the King of Kings protect us all.'[1]

Actuated by such views, the first Parliament called by Cromwell questioned the most fundamental clauses of the Instrument of Government, and disputed fiercely for the control of militia, army, and revenue, and for the negative voice in legislation exactly as the Long Parliament had once disputed with the King. At the same time plots against the Protector were spreading rapidly in the army and navy. A petition of seamen, secretly backed by Vice-Admiral Lawson, demanded redress of grievances and a free Parliament, and three colonels, John Okey, Matthew Alured, and Robert Saunders, conspired with Lawson, John Bradshaw, and the two famous Levellers, Major John Wildman and Colonel Edward Sexby, to circulate a similar petition in the army and city of London. The petitions were discovered and the three colonels cashiered, but the movement was not checked. Wildman next proposed to nail up a declaration, denouncing the 'usurpation' of Cromwell in every market-place, and to call upon all malcontents to rally to appointed rendezvous and 'stand to their first principles.' Agents were sent to Scotland and Ireland, Lord Grey of Groby was chosen as military leader, and the support of many influential persons was expected. Among these was Colonel Overton, by whose means it was hoped to secure the town of Hull, and a large part of the army in Scotland. The extent of Overton's complicity is very doubtful, but he seems to

1654 September

1654 October

[1] *Thurloe*, iii. p. 75.

have told Wildman 'that there was a party that would stand right for a Commonwealth' in Scotland, and his fellow-conspirators believed that if a mutiny were raised in that army and Monk's person seized, Overton would easily be induced to take the command. He was then to march to England with a strong force and unite with Bradshaw, Haselrigg, and others to overthrow the Protector.

1654 December. This wide-spread plot, in which the armies of all three kingdoms and a squadron of the fleet were implicated, came to Cromwell's knowledge in December 1654. Overton was at once arrested and sent to England, where he remained in the Tower until Cromwell's death in 1658, and the fanatical Colonel Harrison suffered a like fate.

1655 February. On February 10, 1655, Wildman was dramatically seized in the act of dictating a new declaration; Grey was taken two days later, the fleet submitted without protest, and though Sexby escaped to the Continent, the whole plot was successfully 'knipt in the bud.'[1]

This was a severe blow to the expectant Royalists, who had relied much on a revolution at home. They believed that if once the movement against the Protector were begun, a large part of the army would join in their cry for a king and a free parliament, and this belief was fostered by the fact that Lawson was actually in communication with the King, while the adhesion of Fairfax was hoped on reasonable grounds. Further, it was reported that Overton had been 'agreed' with 'Charles Stewart' before his arrest.'[2]

1654 September-December. All these circumstances had encouraged the Royalists to fix the 14th of February 1655 as the day for their own rising, and for this they diligently prepared. Arms were bought in London, chiefly through the agency of a Major Henry Norwood, and despatched in harmless-looking deal boxes to the houses of the Royalist gentry in various

[1] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 35, 76, 114, 143, 147, 148, 185.

[2] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 97; *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 347; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 54; *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 280, 355.

counties. Horses were collected as secretly as might be, agents passed to and fro, enlisting men and giving out commissions from the King. Women, such as Lady Isabella Thynne, Lady Shannon, and Rochester's wife, Lady Lee, 'had their part to carry letters and go up and down upon errands,' and so successful were their endeavours that Thurloe's spies assured him, 'most of their designs are executed by women whose husbands are with Charles Stuart.'[1] All the time an active correspondence, disguised in the language of sport or commerce, was kept up with Cologne, whence Charles wrote frequently, expressing ardent desire 'to hunt' with his friends once more, or urging 'the speedy taking up of the mortgage,' then lamenting that the business was not yet concluded, and bidding his 'creditors' wait a more convenient time for payment.[2]

The preservation of absolute secrecy concerning all these preparations for a period of several months would have been little less than a miracle, and such a miracle as the Cavaliers were singularly ill-fitted to achieve. Discretion was never a Royalist virtue, the very nature of the undertaking involved the trusting of too many persons for the security of any, and before long the conspirators at home were bragging in their cups of the great deeds they were about to do. Abroad their exiled compatriots bragged as freely of the strong sympathy felt for the King in England and the certainty of a speedy restoration. From London and Cologne Charles's friends wrote of his designs 'like madmen,' and too many of these letters were addressed to the Palais Royal, where their hopefulness 'made sport' for the Queen and her Court. Passed freely from hand to hand, they were read with sceptical comments, 'jeers and scornes,' and thus the Royalist plot became a subject of common discussion not in London and Paris only, but elsewhere.

'It was indeed strange to me to find the business so

[1] *Thurloe*, ii. p. 528, 546, 568; iii. p. 355.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 33, 49, 115.

publicly discoursed of here,' wrote Captain Peter Mewes from the Hague—'. . . there being scarce a lackey, serving man or woman who could not say more, by much, than I knew.'

And wrote Joseph Jane anxiously from the same place: 'I cannot apprehend how a matter so talkt of . . . in citizen's houses . . . could be long without discovery.'[1]

The discovery was in fact already made, for Cromwell was too ably served by his spies to have remained in ignorance even had his enemies been gifted with more reticence. In the previous summer he had received warning from Bampfylde,[2] and this warning was amplified in the following months by Adams and others. In December they sent dark hints of assistance promised by Mazarin, and assured the Protector that Charles left 'no stone unturned' for the means of transporting a cosmopolitan army to England, 'of which there will be at least 5000 Irish, besides Germans, Lorrainers, and French, and Royal Charles will be at the head of them. I can confirm to you that this is their design, principally since the divisions and risings they expected in England fail.'[3]

Further details were obtained by Sir John Henderson and Richard Bradshaw from the treacherous Peter Massonnett, clerk of the King's Closet, who was intrusted with the writing of the German and Latin despatches, and was therefore able to give information of proposed levies in the Empire by which the east coast was especially endangered. The Government agents at home were not less active and observant than those abroad. The Governor of the Tower remarked with apprehension the many visits paid to his prisoners, and their unaccustomed cheerfulness of demeanour. Finally an intercepted letter from Charles himself to the Sealed Knot put the existence of the plot beyond a doubt. If the Protector

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 384; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 122, 135, 174, 184, 201, 268; *Thurloe*, ii. p. 568.

[2] *Thurloe*, ii. pp. 510-514.

[3] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 19, 45, 76; *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 349; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 210.

remained ignorant of the date of the intended insurrection there was very little else that had escaped him, and on January 22 he dismissed his captious Parliament with fierce reproaches.

'I say unto you,' he asseverated, 'whilst you have been in the midst of these transactions that party—that Cavalier party—. . . have been designing and preparing to put this nation into blood again. . . . They have been making great preparations of arms, and I do believe it will be made evident to you that they have raked out many thousands of arms, even all this city could afford for divers months now passed. Banks of money have been forming for these and other such like uses . . . commissions for regiments of horse and foot and command of castles have likewise been given from Charles Stuart since your sitting.' 1655 January

Cromwell was in a position to prove his words, and so ample was his knowledge that he was accused of having concocted the whole plot himself with a view to terrifying the Parliament into submission, and providing an excuse for the severe repression of malcontents. 'It is true,' wrote the Venetian, Giovanni Sagredo, 'that the Government often invents conspiracies to afford a pretext against the Royalists.' This opinion was endorsed by the French Ambassador, Bordeaux, and some of the Cavaliers themselves asserted that 'this was a plot of my Lord Protector's own devising.'

But the Royalist correspondence affords evidence to acquit Cromwell of this accusation, though not perhaps of deliberately encouraging the design. Indeed, if Richard Talbot can be credited, he actually boasted some months later of having 'furthered' the plot himself, 'purposely to entrap such as were disaffected to the present Government.'[1]

[1] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 122, 182; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 175; *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 12, Jan. 7, 1656; Articles by Mr. R. Palgrave, *Quarterly Review*, 1886, p. 414; *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1888, pp. 521, 722; Articles by Professor C. H. Firth, *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1888, p. 323; 1889, pp. 313, 525.

1654 December

In the last days of December 1654 he judged the time ripe for action, arrested Norwood, and seized upon the arms concealed in various Royalist houses of Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Derbyshire. A little later followed the arrest of the Welsh Royalists, Bayley and Bagenal, on suspicion of an intention to surprise Beaumaris Castle; these two confessed to having received the King's commission to raise regiments of horse in Carnarvon and Anglesea, and the search for arms and suspected persons was zealously continued.[1]

1655 January

In January, news of all these discoveries spread dismay among the Royalists at home and abroad. The effect on the conspirators was twofold, the Sealed Knot averred that all was now ruined, and that to attempt anything in the present condition of affairs would be sheer madness. Others, who had long made their preparations, and held themselves lost without some immediate success, complained sharply of the Knot's 'coldness,' and declared it 'better to dye like men in noble actions than to live miserablye.' The exiles were almost all in favour of action. Jane, though he saw 'noe human grounds of hope,' dared not despair, and Ormonde, notwithstanding Hyde's assurance, 'I cannot live without you,' still lingered at Antwerp, in the hope of a call to England.[2] By the end of January he had almost renounced that hope, and wrote of returning to Cologne 'to assist the best I can at a melancholy consultation what the King is next to do, for I do something more than doubt that the frame of his business is so broken that it will not admit of peecing, but that some favourable opportunity must be stayed for to cast it into a new mould. . . . I would fain hope that yet there may be some spirit left in some of our friends that will tell them how infallibly they will be picked out one by one to destruction, and how much

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, iii. pp. 65, 68, 71, 78, 82, 104, 107, 125, 127-129; *Clarke Papers*, iii. p. 17.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 206, 297, 321, 327; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 173-178.

handsomer it will be to perish in resisting than in submitting to such a course.'[1]

On the same date Charles wrote himself to recall the Marquis:

'You do not wish more to be in England than I do that you should be there, unless you wish unreasonable,' he asserted. 'But I must tell you I will not venter you thither unless something be first done, and in such case I will be redy to venter myselfe, so that you and I shall meete and speake together though it may be we shall part quickly. The truth is, I cannot instruct you in the part you are to act, nor well digest it myselfe without conference together, and you will then see it shall be such a one as shall be worthy of the kindnesse I have for you. I am not at all frighted with the news from England from expecting the best I have expected and am prepared to run away from hence upon an hour's warning, of which you shall have seasonable advertisement and know where to finde me.'[2]

With this letter Ormonde avowed himself to the Chancellor pleased 'to a degree that will make me very cheerful, though all our present hopes should faile us. For if he will but think and work by himself, we shall have success, or satisfaction in a greate measure without it.'[3] 1655 February

And to Charles he wrote with fatherly approval:

'Bee but pleased to continue to thinke of your owne business till you find you have mastered it, that is till you are satisfied you have done all you could, and you will not blush for want of success; nor will any servant, worthy of the name, bee weary of following you, or unwilling to dye for you.'[4]

Yet, for all that, he refused to obey the summons to Cologne, pleading a bad cold and an absolute lack of

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 310.
[2] *Historical MSS. Commission*, Rept. 13, App. vii. p. 14.
[3] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 263, Feb. 2, 1655.
[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 316.

money to make the journey. 'Besides I consider yt if it fall out that the King be called away within four or five days, more or less, after my coming, he will be put to a double difficulty and charge of disentangling me from this place and from Cologne, where I have servants that must not go with me, and yet will make a troublesome inquiry, perhaps clamour, after me. And if it happen that all we hear shall prove nothing, or not so considerable as to occasion his sending as much as from Cologne, I shall surely have but too much time to go and give my master an unprofitable attendance. This is what I am able to say for myself that I go not.'[1]

Ormonde's change of purpose had been caused by the arrival at Antwerp of Thomas Ross and James Halsall or Halsey, the respective emissaries of the two rival Royalist factions. Ross, the representative of the active party, came first, bearing a letter to the King which proposed to defer the general rising for a week beyond the day appointed, but strongly deprecated any further delay.

'All I have to tell thee is that thy cause will not come so soon to a tryall this terme by a week as thy last servant informed thee. And thou canst hardly imagine how prejudicial this little delay may prove to the witnesses and cause itself. They have business of their own which they would leave time for, and thou has employed such powerful obstructors that they discourage everybody. I wish Mr. Pudsey (*i.e.* Ormonde) or somebody were here yt could rule them, for thou hast evidence enough, if I am not much mistaken. But Mr. Blackman (Cromwell) will go near to lessen it with his money and threats.'[2]

Ross, questioned by Ormonde, poured scorn upon 'the coldness and backwardness' of the Sealed Knot, by which he said 'many irrecoverable opportunities, persons, and parties' had been already lost. Yet he retained so sanguine a view of the situation that Ormonde confessed it a pity to neglect 'a nick of time . . . so seasonable,'

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 327. [2] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 306, Jan. 19-29, 1655.

and sent him on to Cologne with the assurance that he was himself 'ready to try for a hanging' whenever the King pleased to order him to England.[1]

Ross had already obtained Charles's approval of the proposed date, and was returning by Antwerp when, on February 1-11, he fell in with James Halsall, despatched in haste by the Sealed Knot to frustrate his errand. This second messenger was likewise charged with a letter from his employers which condemned in unequivocal terms the proposal of their rivals. 'Understanding that they have sent for your approbation of a day for rising, which they already here have agreed on, we thought it very undutiful not to represent to your Majesty the dangerousness of the consequences of it. For now that their (*i.e.* the enemy's) divisions is for the present so allayed, as that no rise from the army is to be hoped, which was the ground of our hope, and that the fleet is gone . . . we look upon the rising of your party but to be the destroying of themselves, and more, that in this juncture of time it will so prejudice your affairs as cordially to peece up interests which otherwaies, with great heartburnings, would for the present but acquiesce. This, on my faith, sir, is not only our sence but (that) of all wise parties we confer with.'[2]

Halsall himself appeared depressed and doubtful, full of 'the perplexedness, uncertainty, and contrariety of opinions' at home. He thought it over-rash to venture on a rising while those endued with the King's authority declared 'absolutely and sharply against the madness of those people that are resolved to begin.' Yet he averred that on receiving an express command from the King they would not hesitate to lay down their lives, and desired to return at once to England lest he should miss the day appointed. He therefore wrote a letter to the King, expressive of his private views, which Ormonde forwarded to Cologne by O'Neil, together with the

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 321, Feb. 5, 1655.

[2] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 315, Mr. Roles, by Halsey, to the King.

missive of the Sealed Knot and another from himself. While acknowledging the great difficulty of making a decision, Ormonde confessed himself, after consultation with both emissaries, still inclined to 'the acting party.'

'And for their present purpose to act they say they are forced to it by the full discovery they suppose Cromwell has made of the whole plot and of the persons engaged in it, which, if he dissemble, it is but to bring them into security and keep them quiet till he shall have mastered intestine difficulties and brought himself into a condition to choose whom he will destroy.'

As for the party of the Sealed Knot they had expressed resignation to the King's will, and it therefore remained for Charles to prohibit the rising or to bid them support it.

'But I am sure the King has either forbidden the enterprise or directed the Knot to fall into it with all their power and industry, else it would be the certain loss of those that shall appear, and the very probable destruction of those that hold off.'[1]

Halsall's letter was to much the same effect.

'Sir, Mr. O'Neil will give you a letter from the Sealed Knot who do wholly dissent to what was proposed by Mr. Ross. Sir, they are generally known . . . to have had the full managing of your Majesty's affairs, they have discoursed with the most considerablest and have very many that do really submit to their opinions. Sir, when we shall now appear, if they sit still and keep their chambers, I very much fear that by their ill examples our sword will be cut very short. But I hope your Majesty, since your approval of what hath been presented, hath sent your command to them not to be wanting with their assistance, and then I am confident that they are persons of that honour and duty that they will readily engage.'[2]

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 265, Feb. 2-12, 1655; *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 327.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 343, Feb. 12, 1655.

Instead of following this very reasonable counsel, Charles vacillated according to what Nicholas termed 'the fatal custom' of his family. He was loath to forgo the rising on which he had counted so much; he was equally loath to bid his friends risk their lives against their own judgment, and his reply to the Sealed Knot was full of indecision.

'Nor can it be reasonable in me to hinder them from moving who believe themselves ready for it, and undone if they do not,' he wrote, 'and yet I cannot look for any great success if, whilst they stir, you sit still and discountenance what they do. And it is as unreasonable that any positive command of myne should oblige you to an action directly contrary to your own judgment and inclinations. In this straight I could not think of a better expedient than to send this trusty bearer who is so well-known to you and who will have credit enough with all who are ready to serve me to beget a right understanding amongst them. He will tell you what I think, and I shall say no more but that though all particular designs may be secret the general jealousy will serve to imprison all my friends, and if some move the rest will have no security by sitting still. I will be as ready myself as I wish others to be and trust God Almighty with the rest.'[1]

The 'trusty bearer' here mentioned was Daniel O'Neil, and the result of his mission was but another postponement. Halsall had reached Antwerp on the 1-11th of February, on the next day O'Neil set out for Cologne, and on February 8-18 he again left Cologne with the King's letter. Delayed by 'cross winds and accidents' he reached Dover on February 14-24, and was there arrested and confined in the Castle. His identity and his papers remained undiscovered and within a week he escaped from custody, but he did not reach London until after February 22-March 4, and thus more than a month elapsed between the despatch of the letter

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 340, Feb. 18, 1655.

from the Sealed Knot and the receipt of Charles's reply.[1] Many believed that the King's silence portended disapproval; others were glad to snatch at any excuse for retreat from their undertaking, and not a few had been actually arrested and thus rendered incapable of playing the parts assigned them.[2] Therefore the chosen day, February 13-23, came and passed without a sign, and while the Cavaliers doubted and hesitated, Cromwell made daily fresh discoveries, new arrests, and completed his precautionary measures.

Alarmist reports reached the Government from all quarters. In Hampshire there was a rumour of arms and ammunition landed by night. 'If they are as busy in other countys as in these parts we are like to have a sweet time speedily, had they arms,' observed the informer.[3]

Bristol was alarmed by a great influx of horsemen and of 'many strangers, seemingly of quality, coming into town and walking our streets.'

Massey was reported to be at Gloucester, James of York at Marshfield. At Salisbury it was said that a body of conspirators had actually met on Monday, February 12-22, but received warning that the plot was discovered, 'and so the word was given every man shift for himself, whereupon they presently dispersed to their several houses.'

John Stradling of Chedsey, being arrested on this information, threw himself on the Protector's mercy and made full confession of all that he knew. It had been intended, he said, to rendezvous at Salisbury, and march thence to Marlborough. Sir Hugh and Colonel Francis Wyndham undertook to secure Taunton, Sir John Grenvile was responsible for Plymouth, and the King himself was to come to Hull, which would be surrendered to him on his appearance.

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 367, 383; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 205; *Calendar Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 20, 21. [2] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. 129.
[3] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 153, 162, 165, 171, 176, 178, 181, 191.

Cromwell thereupon sent for the Mayor and Aldermen of London to whom he showed the King's intercepted letter, and revealed the whole plot.[1] The militia was called out, 'lest this great city should be left naked and exposed to the rage of wicked men.' The garrison of the Tower was strengthened,[2] those of Hull and Liverpool were reinforced from Scotland and Ireland respectively, and Major Butler was sent to secure Bristol. The fleet was exhorted to watch the coast, guard the ports, and search all incoming vessels. Horses were seized all over the country, horse-racing was interdicted, 'considering the great concourse of people and horse-races . . . and the use thereof to raise troubles.' Letters were issued to the justices and commissioners of militia in the various counties, bidding them keep a strict surveillance over all 'idle, loose, or disaffected' persons, prevent or disperse their meetings, examine strangers, and detain all who failed to give a good account of themselves. Papists and suspects were everywhere disarmed, and many were arrested for the simple reason that they had formerly served the King. By these means many of the Royalist designs were entirely frustrated. The proposed attempts on Hull and Liverpool were perforce abandoned. The arrest of Colonel Edward Grey ruined the schemes in the north; those of Devonshire and Hampshire collapsed on the seizure of Grenvile and Bennett. The betrayal and flight of the Wyndhams proved fatal to Somersetshire, Kent was paralysed by the presence of troops, and, as a crowning misfortune, the King's letter of July 16, 1654[3] was found in possession of a certain James Read, together with eight hundred cases of pistols.[4]

1655 February-March

In one respect the Government precautions proved singularly ineffectual. The port officials had been strictly

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 210.

[2] *Thurloe*, iii. p. 57.

[3] See p. 57.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 371, 384; *Calendar Domestic State Papers Proclamations*, etc. Feb.-March 1655, pp. 92-94; *Thurloe State Papers*, iii. pp. 182, 191, 218, 233-234; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 175, 202, 230, 280; *Clarke Papers*, iii. pp. 21-22.

charged to examine all strangers and detain them on the least suspicion, yet the exiled Cavaliers entered the country daily, eluding the vigilance of Cromwell's governors with an astonishing facility.

Halsall and Ross returned without difficulty from Antwerp in the middle of February. Trelawny and Armorer sailed with O'Neil from Dunkirk and were like him detained at Dover. Trelawny satisfied the Governor and was released, but Armorer's too obvious chagrin aroused suspicion and he was confined in Dover Castle while his assumed name and description were forwarded to London.

'I told him he gave me a just ground for suspition and that I would secure him, until I returned his name and carriage, whereat I perceived a spirit of trouble upon him,' wrote the Governor, Wilson. 'I must confess of all the men that ever I secured . . . at first I was not more unsatisfied in a man than in him.'

But, in Wilson's temporary absence, the clerk of the passage, Robert Day, 'ingaging for him and signifying to the Commissioners his knowledge of him,' obtained Armorer's liberty, and when Thurloe, made aware of the prisoner's identity, required him sent up to London, he had already slipt through the hands of his captors.

Another Cavalier, calling himself Richard Broughton, and described as 'a fat short young man, about 26 years old, longe dark browne haire; goes like a souldier,' was released, in despite of Wilson, by the Mayor of Dover, and the harassed Governor wrote in much perturbation to Thurloe.

'Sir, I am very much affected by these cross providences, but, the Lord willing, I shall labour to prevent any such sinister practices to the utmost for the future.'[1]

But for all that Major Boswell subsequently escaped from custody 'with his usual dexterity,' and the exiles continued to return at will.

[1] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 137, 164, 180; *Rawlinson MSS.*, A. xxii. fol. 107.

'There is a great fault in your officers at Dover, for the Cavaliers say any of them can pass there for twenty shillings,' asserted John Adams.

And wrote Manning:

'Your Governor at Dover must be either knave or fool, for he hath lately let pass Wilmot and Philipps, Armorer, Halsey and Daniel O'Neil. Some of them he restrained so carelessly as if it were a purpose for them to escape, especially the last. He, or the searchers, have connived at many's coming over of late, amongst them Mr. John Seymour, Mr. Trelawny, one Mr. Ross, Mr. Manning, a Frenchman or two, all employed in the capital enemy's service. Also one Griffin and Palmer, servants of his, who are all now in England again, actinge their bloody parts by his command.'

Some time later he acquitted the Governor of complicity, by the statement:

'At Dover all pass by the assistance of one And. Day, Fox, etc., searchers. And as long as they are there all will pass you. . . . And Foster hath made O'Neil, Manning, Armorer, Ross, Trelawny, Palmer, Halsey and the other Dover escapes, and manie before.'

This information was confirmed by Bradshaw, who heard from Henderson that 'one Day, clerk of the passage of Dover, hath permitted manie dangerous persons to pass into England.'[1]

In all this there has been seen a deliberate device of Cromwell to draw on the Cavaliers to their own destruction. It has been supposed that the numerous escapes and releases were in reality effected by his order, and that even Ross and other messengers sent to Charles were traitors and spies of the Protector. It is extremely improbable; Hyde, writing many years later when much of the treachery that undermined Royalist counsels had come to light, still maintained that the messengers sent to the King that winter were 'honest men,' and they most likely owed their immunity to

[1] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 190, 198, 428, 530, 659; *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 376.

sympathy with their cause or to the general hatred of the Government. Such at least was the opinion of Charles and Ormonde.

'I must confess that the escape of that lucky fellow Bryan (*i.e.* O'Neil) pleases me very well, and I think it a very good sign to see our factors have so good fortune as to escape the hands of my creditors,' observed Charles.

And wrote Ormonde: 'I am willing to conclude from so many escapes that Cromwell is ill-served or we well-befriended.'[1]

Manning erred in stating that Rochester had landed at Dover, though it was true enough that he was then in England. Possessed by a long-cherished scheme to be general of the Royalist forces, he had obtained the King's permission to take command, and hastened to Flanders while he was still generally supposed to be absent in Brandenburg. With unwonted prudence he adopted the disguise of 'a yellow periwig,' and, warned by his friends' adventures, abandoned the idea of crossing to Dover. There his prudence ended, and 'in the hours of good fellowship, which was a great part of the day and night, he communicated his purpose to anybody he did believe would keep him company and run the same hazard with him.'

In this manner he gave his confidence to Sir Joseph Wagstaffe, formerly a Major-General in the King's army, and described as 'a stout man who looked not far before him, yet had a great companionableness in his nature which exceedingly prevailed with those who, in the intermission of fighting, loved to spend their time in jollity and mirth.'

Rochester certainly came under that category, and, as Wagstaffe was also seeking opportunity to cross the
1655 March Channel, the two joined forces, hired a boat, and sailed on March 1 from Dunkirk. Narrowly escaping shipwreck, they landed at Margate, and proceeded at once

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. p. 124; *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 383, 387, March 13, 1655.

to London. Though twice arrested and examined on the journey, they reached their destination safely on Friday, March 5, and that same evening Rochester sought out Sir Thomas Peyton at the Horn Tavern, in Fleet Street.[1] Thence Peyton despatched his servant to seek lodgings at the house of a tailor, Samuel Hadnam of Aldersgate Street, and the quest proving successful, Rochester, or 'Mr. Symonds' as he was now called, took possession about ten o'clock at night. During the few days that he remained under that roof he made himself extremely agreeable to his landlord's family, an affability which was subsequently repaid by their professed inability to recognise any of the Royalists who came to hold conference with him.[2] Among these was Daniel O'Neil, sent by Charles to reconcile the Sealed Knot with his more actively-minded partisans, and with him and Rochester rested the final decision as to whether the insurrection should or should not take place.

It had appeared to O'Neil on his first arrival that the cause was already lost, and accordingly he wrote to Charles:

'I found all your accounts and business in such disorder by the absence of some of your friends and the restraint of others, who are bound for you, and the despaire of those you addressed me to (*i.e.* the Sealed Knot), whom I found strong in the same persuasion they writt to you, that Mr. Ambrose (Armorer) and I began to think it was fitter to return to our homes than to spend money when we could do you no service.'

It was Sir Thomas Armstrong who, in an evil hour, induced the experienced soldier of fortune to take a more hopeful view of the situation. He, with some dozen more, professed eagerness to risk all for the King. O'Neil was assured that Sir George Booth would raise Cheshire,

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. 127, 131; *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 371, 376, 387.

[2] *Thurloe*, iii. p. 349.

that Fairfax would be 'very hearty' in Yorkshire, that Shrewsbury 'would be as forward as any,' and that the west stood ready for action, while Sir Robert Shirley would give good example to all. Still doubtful, O'Neil sent Armorer to Willoughby from whom he received encouraging assurances of the adhesion of Waller, Browne, and Fairfax, and at this juncture Rochester arrived in town, armed with the King's commission as general of the forces.

He was by no means universally popular, and many expressed to O'Neil their dissatisfaction that Ormonde had not been sent in his stead. 'But I gave them reasons that satisfied them, more than myself,' wrote the Irishman. He confessed, however, that Rochester was 'the next best,' and that his coming 'gave such life to the business that in five days . . . we brought all your creditors to such a composition as we hope will not displease you.'

In short, decision had been taken in favour of the rising, and the night of Thursday, March 8-18, had been chosen as its date. The Sealed Knot, protesting that 'they beleeved little good would be don,' promised their aid. Willoughby hastened to Lincolnshire, Wagstaffe to the west, and Rochester went northward 'in such haste' that he had not time to inform the King. O'Neil, left in London to maintain communication with the Continent, despatched a full account of all the transactions to Charles, advising him to direct James, and, if possible, the Irish troops, to prepare to leave France, but to remain quiet himself until further notice, and above all, to 'beware of loose tongues' until the 'business' should be 'past their spoiling it.'[1]

1655 March 9th -February 27th

But even when he wrote the 'business' was already spoiled. Rochester had left London between seven and eight on the evening of Tuesday, February 27-March 9, telling his landlord that he was merely 'taking a journey into the country,' and would return in a few

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 217-223; *Thurloe*, iii. p. 355.

days.[1] He travelled northward full of sanguine expectation, only to be met by disillusionment. Fairfax, all previous assurances notwithstanding, made no sign. The absence of Langdale who, said Manning, 'was promised, but not intended, he not being of Hyde's cabal,'[2] had disheartened many of his countrymen and the many changes and postponements had produced uncertainty and distrust. Finally, there was a mistake about the day, and only about a hundred men appeared with Sir Richard Mauleverer and Sir Henry Slingsby to meet Rochester on Hexham Moor. These, perceiving the collapse of the enterprise, threw away their arms and dispersed, and Colonel Darcy, coming up later with fifty men, was persuaded by his retreating friends to turn back. March 8th-18th

Other companies rallying at Rufford and Morpeth broke up in a similar manner. Lancashire, Cheshire, and Lincolnshire remained quiescent. 'A great meeting near Warwick, pretending a football match, whereunto many did ride and go all that night,' was dispersed by troops from Gloucester. The arrest of Sir Thomas Harris with his arms, horses, and some half-dozen officers, frustrated the intended attempt on Shrewsbury.[3]

Despite all these disasters, the northern gentlemen proposed to rectify their error by appointing a second day of rendezvous, but this Rochester refused to countenance. Deeming himself deceived he spoke his mind in anger, after a fashion very displeasing to the independent northerners who retorted with sharp reproaches concerning the general mismanagement at headquarters and the absence of Langdale whom they trusted. Finally, they and their would-be leader parted 'with little goodwill towards each other,' and Rochester made his way back to London in disguise. Mauleverer and

[1] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 349, 350.

[2] *Dom. State Papers*, Interreg. xcviii. fol. 52, June 26-July 6, 1655.

[3] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 210, 212, 215, 218, 262, 269-270; *Nicholas*, ii. p. 327; *Dom. State Papers*, Interreg. xcviii. fol. 52; *Clarke Papers*, iii. pp. 25-27.

Slingsby, with many others, were seized and imprisoned at York.[1]

1655 March 11th-21st

It was after all only in the loyal west country that there was any movement amounting to an actual insurrection, and that did not take place until the disturbances in the north and Midlands had been already quelled. Apprehension of some Government troops had delayed the rising beyond the appointed day, and it was not until the night of Sunday, March 11-21, that the insurgents gathered in Clarendon Park, near Salisbury. Owing to the loss of their leaders, Bennett and Grenvile, the Hampshire and Devon men failed at the rendezvous, and at first only about sixty Wiltshire Cavaliers appeared with Wagstaffe, Hugh Grove, and Colonel John Penruddock. Reinforcements from Salisbury and Dorset raised the muster to two hundred strong, and at five

March 12th-22nd

o'clock on the morning of Monday, March 12-22, the day on which the assizes were to be held at Salisbury, they entered that city. Posting a strong party in the market-place, they seized all the horses in the town, released the prisoners, and took the judges, Rolle and Nicholas, with the sheriff, John Dove, in their beds. Wagstaffe brought all three in their robes to the market-place, intending to hang them there, but this rough dealing found little favour with the humane country-gentlemen. Penruddock was 'so passionate to preserve their lives' that Wagstaffe was forced to yield, and released the judges on parole. The sheriff, who was especially obnoxious as a purchaser of forfeited estates and a judge of the late King, suffered some ill-usage on refusing to proclaim Charles II., and was detained a prisoner with the Royalist troops. The judges' commissions were formally burnt and the King proclaimed, but though many recruits flocked to the standard, the city, as a whole, refused to rise. Then dissension and irresolution entered the Royalist ranks; no one knew what to do

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 242; *Clarke Papers*, iii. p. 27; *Thurloe*, iii. p. 278; *Clarendon, History*, xiv. 135.

next, and after wasting much time in dispute, the insurgents marched, four hundred strong, towards Dorset, taking the sheriff in their company.

At Blandford they halted to proclaim the King, and declare for liberty, religion, and a free Parliament; at Dorchester they threw open the gaol and mounted the prisoners, and late that night they quartered at Shaftesbury and Sherborne. The next day, Tuesday, they came to Yeovil, where they suffered Dove to leave them, and his release was significant of their disheartened condition. Though Dorset was, according to Captain Bishop, the most 'disaffected' county in England, and the towns through which the Royalists passed 'the most rotten and corrupt places of the nation,' the country had not risen to their expectation. The great towns of Bristol and Exeter were strongly garrisoned and defended. Lord Hertford made no sign, and Devon and Hampshire would do nothing without Grenvile and Bennett. Very few recruits joined in the march, and when the Royalists entered Somerset, desertion had set in; all had lost hope and courage, and by the third day, Wednesday, the march had become a flight. Passing by Tiverton and Cullompton, they came to South Molton, and there they were overtaken by Captain Unton Croke from Exeter, about ten o'clock on the night of Wednesday, March 14. Though exhausted by ceaseless marching and lack of food, they resisted bravely, firing from the windows upon their enemies. But they had been for long unused to arms, and their fire did little damage. Their horses were captured, and eventually about fifty, among whom were Grove and Penruddock, surrendered to Croke on articles securing them life, liberty, and estates.[1]

1655 March 13th-23rd

March 14th-24th

For many weeks soldiers scoured the country, search- March

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. 131-134; *Gardiner*, iii. pp. 140, 141 and notes; *Dom. State Papers, Cal.* 1655, pp. 84, 87, 88, 365; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 240, 242, 243; *Thurloe*, iii. 221, 237, 242, 243, 248, 259, 281, 369.

ing for 'a young, tall, black man, called Charles Stuard, though Cromwell himself was well aware that the King was in Zealand, and Mewes guessed correctly when he wrote: 'I believe Cromwell hath too good a nose as to hunt on a false sent and knows well enough yt noble game is out of his reach. But it is probable yt is the pretention to see who they can find by concealed.'[1]

This was in fact the case, and the search for the King resulted in the arrest of many Cavaliers who might otherwise have escaped notice, yet, strangely enough, none of the chief offenders were taken at all. Camparatively harmless country gentlemen like Grove and Penruddock suffered for their loyalty, but banished men like O'Neil, Rochester, Wagstaffe, and Armorer, who had come over expressly to foment and lead the insurrection, successfully eluded capture, and this they did despite the vigilance of Manning, who transmitted to Thurloe full details of the appearance, disguises, pseudonyms, friends, and hiding-places of the exiled Cavaliers then in England.

Wagstaffe and many others 'found shelter in some honest houses, where they were concealed until opportunity served to transport them beyond seas.'[2] Rochester made his way back to London, disguised as a grazier, 'with a brave basket-hilt sword tyed up to his back,' and his escape illustrates both his own extraordinary luck and the almost universal sympathy felt for fugitive Cavaliers. 'If he had not been a man very fortunate in disguises he could never have escaped so many perambulations,' observed Hyde. 'For as he was the least wary in making his journeys in safe hours, so he departed very unwillingly from all places where there was good eating and drinking, and entered into conferences with any strangers he met or joined with.'[3]

1655 March 20th-30th

At Aylesbury, whither he came with Armorer, his French servant, and a peasant whose services he had engaged as guide, he very nearly fell into his enemies'

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 241, 266.

[2] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. 134; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 36.

[3] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. 135; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 228.

hands. Suspicion was aroused by the imprudent interest that he displayed in some land belonging to his wife, and notice of the strangers' presence was sent to the nearest justice, Christopher Henn. That worthy sent verbal orders for their detention, whereupon the innkeeper with whom they lodged came to the magistrate, furiously protesting that 'the constable and all his guard should not fetch one man out of his house without a warrant.' On that Henn came himself to examine the strangers, and finding them with 'very rich cloathing in their portmanteaus, which might become persons of great quality to wear,' and with no very satisfactory account of that or themselves, he made out the warrant and committed them to the care of the constable. It was—so he asserted later—his intention to send them to London after consultation with Colonel Ingoldsby; but Ingoldsby's absence caused delay, and in the interim the constable calmly accepted the innkeeper's word for the safe custody of his charges. Rochester promptly recognised his opportunity; confessed his identity to his host and offered him all the money in his possession, thirty or forty jacobuses, with 'a fair gold chain' valued at a hundred pounds, in return for his assistance. The man made no demur; judging it wise, for his own sake, to detain their horses, he provided them with two others, equally good, and himself set them, 'with all their rich apparel,' on the London road at midnight.

The constable, returning on the morning of April 1, was met with the seasonable news that his prisoners were flown, while the innkeeper exhibited their horses in proof of his own good faith. The French servant who had been left behind revealed nothing, and probably magistrate, constable, and innkeeper were not ill-satisfied with the event, though each tried to throw blame upon the other. In any case Henn made no report to headquarters until ten days later.[1]

March 21st
April 1st

April 2nd-12th

[1] *Thurloe*, iii. 335; *Nicholas*, ii. 227-228; *Clarendon, History*, xiv. 136.

Before that the fugitives had reached Chichester, where they hoped for the aid of Rochester's old friend, Colonel Gunter.[1] The hope was justified, but the boat obtained through Gunter's agency leaked, and on May 4, they were forced to return to London, where, with O'Neil, Ross, Halsall, and several others, they remained undiscovered until June, when all succeeded in regaining the Continent.

Once indeed O'Neil nearly fell a victim to the treachery of Manning, but fortunately for him the soldiers searched first the house next to that in which he lay concealed, and discovering there another Royalist, Nicolls, a servant to the Duke of York, departed fully satisfied that they had captured the Irish adventurer himself.[2] Rochester, betrayed by the same agency, was saved by so notable a Puritan as Colonel John Hutchinson, who claimed, at the Restoration, that 'he gave the Earl of Rochester notice and opportunity to escape when Cromwell's ministers had discovered him, the last time he was employed in his Majesty's service here in England.'[3]

Cromwell had in fact many enemies, and the Royalists many friends, who were far from seeking a Stuart restoration. Cavaliers who evaded arrest by the soldiers ran little risk of being given up by civilians, and the very gaolers appeared unwilling to detain those committed to their custody. Orders to put the prisoners into irons were constantly disregarded, and the consequent escapes were too frequent to be attributed to mere accident.

Sir Richard Mauleverer 'notwithstanding a strict guard at the door of his chamber, and a great light therein, escaped forth at a window down into the street,' and his example was successfully followed by his friend Major Walters. Though their flight was discovered within a quarter of an hour, and neither 'charge nor paynes'

[1] *The King in Exile*, pp. 265, 268.
[2] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 339, 348, 358, 429; vii. p. 109.
[3] *Historical MSS. Commission*, Report 7, p. 120.

spared in the pursuit, it proved 'not successful, answerable to desire,' and both reached the Hague safely at the end of May.[1]

In similar fashion a certain Eyton contrived to descend from his window at Shrewsbury by means of sheets tied together, and Major Thomas Hunt was suffered to escape from Ilchester gaol, on the eve of his intended execution, by the time-worn ruse of donning his sister's clothes.[2]

Nevertheless, very many prisoners, of whom the greater number had not been taken in arms, remained in custody, and the Government, warned that 'the longer they lye the more pity will be got towards them,' made all haste to bring them to trial. At the end of March special commissions of Oyer and Terminer were appointed for the north and west, but so general was the sympathy felt for the insurgents that it was difficult to find judges to serve on the commissions, and harder still to find juries willing to convict the prisoners. Sir Richard Newdigate, Justice of the Upper Bench, asserted boldly that levying war on the Protector did not fall within the statute of treason, and in the north, where no actual fighting had occurred, no jury would bring in a true bill. The prisoners therefore escaped, for the time, with a fine for 'rioting,' but fell victims a year later to the arbitrary rule of Cromwell's major-generals. The state of the west was more dangerous, and there the Government took care to have the juries satisfactorily packed.

'I resolve that not one man shall be returned in the one or other jurys but such as may be confided in, and of the honest well-affected party to His Highness,' wrote the Sheriff Dove, March 29. 'Iff there be but enough of them to be found throughout the whole country, which I hope there is, it is and will be my greatest care to see it punctually done, and not to trust my under-sheriff therewith.'

[1] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 304, 344; *Nicholas*, ii. pp. 322, 327.

[2] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 336, 337, 453, 706; *Mercurius Politicus*, Egerton, pp. 840-7; *Historical MSS. Commission*, Report 7, p. 123.

April May

As a result of Dove's care about forty Cavaliers were condemned to death, though less than half that number eventually suffered. Among these were Grove and Penruddock who pleaded in vain the articles of their capitulation. Their plea and Croke's intercession were alike disregarded, and both were executed on May 11, 1655.[1]

Their fate was more enviable than that of other unfortunates who were transported to Barbadoes, and sold into servitude without regard to age or rank. This shameful traffic, begun by the Government after the Scottish defeat at Dunbar in 1650, forms a dark blot on the history of the Commonwealth. Though the servitude was limited to a term of years, it was on that account the harder, since employers had less interest in the preservation of bond-servants than of actual slaves. Many of the victims perished of hardship and ill-usage; a few found sympathy and assistance from influential planters who readily connived at their escape.[2]

The 'severe proceedings' against their friends at home seemed 'very terrible' to the exiles on the Continent,[3] and the news of their misfortunes produced an outburst of mutual recrimination. That both mismanagement and treachery had played a part in the affair was too obvious for denial, and each of the several parties concerned was eager to throw the blame upon another.

The Cavaliers were quick to suspect their Presbyterian allies. Jane accused them of having 'protracted the tyme, purposely to ruin all.' And wrote Mewes:

'The Presbyters rejoyce, as I am told, very much that they had no hand in the business. For my part I am afrayde they had too much. That is they were admitted to know something of the design but not the bottom, and

[1] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 306-308, 312, 318, 328, 365, 394, 445; *Cal. Dom. State Papers*, 1655, pp. 90-91, 99, 112, 114, 120, 131; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 254; iii. p. 162; *Clarke Papers*, iii. pp. 33-37, 38.

[2] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 370, 371, 453, 488, 621, 743; iv. p. 39; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 246, 252, 255, 321; *Gardiner*, iii. p. 161, note 2.

[3] *Dom. State Papers*, Manning to Thurloe, June 26-July 6, 1655.

ye nature of that beast is such yt it will rather the plow stood still than it should move by any but their assistance.'

Popular rumour indicated Fairfax himself as the traitor. 'It doth pass for current here that the Lord Fairfax had agreed with the King to rise for him, and had caused the Lord Wilmot to come over, but finding the design not likely to take did discover the whole bottom to the Protector,' wrote the French Ambassador from London.

On the other hand, the Presbyterians, as represented by James Bunce, asserted that they knew by whom the King had been betrayed, with evident intention to reflect on the Chancellor.

'But I would not comprehend his meaning, and I doubt he had not much himself,' observed Jane.[1]

The Chancellor, for his part, blamed the conspirators in England, averring that they had grossly exaggerated their own strength, and complaining of their fatal dissensions. This view was coloured by reports from home. A Dorset prisoner declared that 'they were fools or madmen' who managed the insurrection, and indicated the ill-advised lenity of Penruddock, and the too hasty retreat from Salisbury as the ruin of all. Others asserted 'that there were great divisions in the counsels of those who were employed in England for his Majesty. Those of ye West and Kent agreed well enough, but in the north they differed.' Halsall was especially named as having caused 'very great dissatisfaction,' but Rochester, on whom the failure chiefly reflected was 'very honourably' acquitted by Mauleverer and other fugitives.[2]

But for all that the Royalists at home were not inclined to accept the blame. From England came 'nothing but complaints of mismanagement,' and accusations were freely levelled even at the King himself. Some blamed his absence severely, asserting that the people would have risen 'courageously' had their leaders been in a position to say to them, 'Come, go along with us . . . we will

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 260, 268, 347; *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 312, 358.
[2] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 327; *Cal. Dom. State Papers*, 1655, p. 250.

show you the face of your King.' Armorer and Wagstaffe asserted that the people had refused to rise because 'the King kept not the day appointed, but broke twice with them, which made them think they were fooled.' And they added: 'Factions at Court are the ruin of every plot.'[1]

In Paris Buckingham and Montagu took 'great liberty to declare the failing of the King's late designes to be through his own default.' In particular, Buckingham attributed the loss of Fairfax to the King's refusal to employ himself, as Fairfax had especially requested, in the negotiations, but this statement was expressly denied by Nicholas.

'I know not, nor by inquiry can find, that there was ever an offer or promise from the Lord Fairfax that he would engage for his Majesty, so as (*i.e.* if) the transaction between his Majesty and him might pass through the Duke of Buckingham's hands.'

Charles was, however, so much moved by the censures cast upon him, that he undertook his own defence, indignantly repudiating the suggestion that he was the victim of evil counsels.

'They who will not believe anything to be reasonably designed unless it be successfully executed had need of a less difficult game to play than mine is,' he declared. 'And I hope my friends will think that I am now too old and have had too much experience of things and persons to be grossly imposed upon. And therefore they who would seem to pity me for being often deceived do, upon the matter, declare the opinion they have of my understanding and judgment.'[2]

He wrote not without reason, since, for one who blamed the King, there were many who blamed the Chancellor. 'You would hardly credit how severely the miscarriage of the business reflects upon Sir Edward Hyde,' observed

[1] *Nicholas*, iii. p. 41; *Thurloe*, iii. p. 280; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., July 5-15, 1655, Adams to Hacker.

[2] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 335, 344; *Thurloe*, i. p. 662.

Mewes. 'For, being by the most supposed to be if not the sole yet the chief manager of this design, the whole weight lies upon him, and though something in general may fall upon his Majesty yet the hottest charge is upon him.'

Even James of York was said to 'express himself more than was expected,' and the courtiers of the Palais Royal, of course, stood foremost among the accusers. Yet they too received their share of the reproach. 'Assuredly the open talking of all things at the Palais Royal, and the infinite company of spies that pass through everywhere there does do infinite mischief in England,' asserted Hatton.[1]

In all these theories there was perhaps a grain of truth, and in point of fact the causes of the disaster were not far to seek. The delay of the King's message, and the consequent postponement of the rising had 'weakened the spirits of many, deprived them of the wisdom and courage of surprised leaders, and disordered the whole plot.'

The rashness and habitual lack of reticence among the conspirators had made the rising a subject of common discourse long before the time for it was ripe; their want of real cohesion, the number of traitors in their midst, and the vigilance of the English Government had done the rest.

'In my opinion, from two or three considerations essentially incident to this business, any wise man who had the least knowledge of it must have foreseen the ruin of it,' wrote an anonymous correspondent to Hyde. 'Ye buying great numbers of arms and quantityes of ammunition in this city to be dispersed to several parts of the kingdom could never have been hoped reasonably to have been done without discovery; ye communicating of ye design to very many, which was unavoidable in ye nature of a popular rising, could not possibly be with the requisite secrecy, nor could any better issue have been

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 267, 344; iii. p. 7.

expected from a design where there were so many mean persons, both for parts and condition, so many drunken and mad men trusted in the management of it.'[1]

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 205, 208, 251, 268; *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 384.

CHAPTER IV

The Disappearance of the King—Letter of the States of Holland—Agitation in England—King's Letter to James—His Escape from Cologne—At Middleburgh—Discovery of the King by Manning—Rumours from England—Return to Cologne—Middleton—Revival of the Presbyterian Party—Mission of Balcarres—Attempt to ruin Hyde—Rupert—Uneasiness of Roman Catholic Royalists—Factions at Cologne—Hyde's Unpopularity—Poverty—Neuburg—The King's Occupations—Arrival of the Princess of Orange—Frankfort Fair—Christina of Sweden—Charles Louis of the Rhine—Visit to the Elector of Mainz—Return to Cologne—Want of Money—Difficulties of O'Neil in Holland—Hounds sent to the King—Quarrels at Court.

1655 February

IN the last days of February 1655, the English Government was startled by the discovery that it had completely lost sight of the King. Notwithstanding the curiosity of his friends and the vigilance of his foes, Charles had passed unnoticed from Cologne, and for nearly three weeks his movements were shrouded in mystery from all but a trusted few. This sudden disappearance spread consternation among friends and foes alike, and formed the one theme of conversation among the English on the Continent.

March

'I confess my haire stands on end to heare that every day too much tyme is spent at the Palais Royal in publick ghessing where the King is,' wrote Hatton indignantly from Paris. 'Some say in Holland, some in Flanders, some in Teyling. Some write thence that Mr. Bennett is ether come to Paris or to the King. Good God! what doe these people meane?'[1]

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 212, 215, 230, March 12; 23, 1655.

From Holland Jane reported:

'I beleeve the motion of the King was the matter of all letters that came hither by this post, and all men make conjectures according to their prepossessions.'

And again, three days later:

'Wee have heere little other discourse but of the King's motion from Cologne.'[1]

A persistent rumour prevailed that Charles had joined his sister at Teyling, and the States of Holland thereupon wrote to remind the Princess that her reception of her brother would be contrary to the terms of their late treaty with England, and also to their own resolutions of the 30th of July and the 2nd and 4th of August 1653.

'Albeit,' they concluded, 'we cannot in any wyse believe or, according to the wisdom and discretion of the said Lord King, expect that he should desire or dare to take upon him to resort into the limits of this State . . . we have nevertheless for good reasons, and for a sufficient discharge to ourselves, thought fit to represent the premises to your Royal Highness, herewithal desiring and willing you will with all speed to be pleased to inform and assure us of the real truth thereof, no way doubting, but praying and warning your Royal Highness to be pleased by all good offices and endeavours to helpe to hinder and prevent that the forementioned Lord King do not repair within the power of their High Mightinesses.'

Mary received this 'very uncivil letter' with intense indignation, and at once gave orders for its translation and careful preservation, 'that I may the better remember it, when maybe they will not desire that I should,' she explained to Hyde. To the States themselves she vouchsafed no other response than a curt verbal message that 'His Majesty had neither been here nor did she believe that he ever had the least intention to come into these parts.'[2]

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 205, 210, March 2; 5, 1655.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 266-267; *Thurloe State Papers*, iii. p. 255; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 224, 228, 232, 245.

Other reports placed the King in Friesland with Count William, or in France with his mother, but the most general conclusion on all sides was that he had already landed in England. There the Government, warned by rumours from France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany, watched apprehensively for his appearance. Once at least he was thought to be discovered in the person of a young man, 'somewhat tall, of a spare visage, and of a brown hair,' who had taken up his abode with Thomas Sacheverell of Baliscott, in Oxfordshire. This stranger, called alternately Stanley and Wallop, was observed to be 'very generous' with his money and to hold nightly meetings with 'notorious Cavaliers,' but he vanished on the news of the Salisbury rising, and only his host fell a victim to the vigilance of Major Creed.

April 'I likewise seized the person of one Sacheverell, an Oxfordshire gentleman, for harbouring a suspicious person,' wrote that worthy to the Protector. . . . 'It is generally reported in the country to be Charles Stuart.'[1]

Cromwell can have attached little importance to this or to other similar communications, for he had by that time been made aware that the King had never crossed the Channel. Yet the alarmists had some justification, in as much as Charles had really intended to join his friends in England so soon as they brought a reasonable force into the field. Neither the warnings of the Sealed Knot, nor the discoveries of Cromwell had sufficed to blast his hopes, and after O'Neil's departure he wrote cheerfully to his brother James.

1655 February

'Do not too much despise the discourses of plots and disorders in England, but believe some good may come of it and keep yourself in a readiness to move accordingly as I do. And in order to it I wish you had, by George Carteret's care, or by some other way, a frigate or two ready, upon short warning, to attend you. I am confident I shall very speedily have reason to send an

[1] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 224, 235, 277, 324, 329.

express to you, till when take no particular resolution further than to be ready upon the first summons.'[1]

His next care was to extricate himself secretly from Cologne, and this he knew to be no easy matter.

'If it should be time for the King shortly to be moving, he should at most take but two with him; with what dexterity he can get rid of the rest is the difficulty,' wrote Ormonde. A few days later he replied to some suggestion of the Chancellor.

'I like your design for his getting away, but if he thinkes he has a better I dare trust him and let him please himself.'[2]

Charles's pleasure involved the return of the Marquis to Cologne, perhaps as a blind to his own intentions, but the secret leaked out, and on February 13-23 the King wrote in some perturbation to Jermyn.

'On Thursday night last Sir Charles Lloyd came to Antwerp from Breda, when, being drunk, he told a friend as a secret that Mr. Page was gone to Düsseldorf, and that a better man would shortly follow him. The next morning his friend asked him who told him that newes, he said he was told it by an English officer who came from the Busse, where he was told it by a friend. He said the officer came from thence to Breda in company with my Lord Norwich. You will believe this gives me much trouble. . . . I leave out the ladye's name who told the officer, because I thinke it is best not to name her lest it trouble the other sisters who are like to be trusted.'[3]

February 13th-23rd — On the same day Sir John Mennes and the Secretary's eldest son, John Nicholas, received orders to proceed to Flushing, and there await instructions at an inn known as

February 14th-24th — the Signe of the Towne of Rouen. On the next day, Wednesday, Charles left Cologne at daybreak, attended

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 352.

[2] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 300, January 22, 1655; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 263, February 5, 1655.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 355; February 13-23, 1655.

only by Ormonde and a single groom. Owing to the secrecy observed, the stages of the journey are somewhat obscure, but the travellers appear to have met with considerable discomfort, for on March 3, Ormonde wrote from a placed unnamed. March

'We came late and wet last night to this period of our journey, after many difficulties by land and water, though nothing is yet happened to be called an ill-accident.'[1]

Ten days later he wrote to demand a further supply of one thousand guilders. March 3rd-13th

'I am desired to tell you that all the money we brought is spent to the English gold and ten sovereigns and a half, and yet nothing eates at charge but our horses and two men. If we stay long and then be forced to return, we may lie in pawn, or our horses which is the same thing.'

Charles also wrote to the Chancellor describing the adventures of O'Neil and Rochester, and expressing great hopefulness.

'I believe you may think me lazy for not writing to you since my coming hither,' he added, 'but having neither store nor closet, but must call for pen and ink every time I write, it will excuse me in some sort, knowing my natural inclination to that exercise.'[2]

Both letters are dated from Düsseldorf, March 13, 1655, but, in point of fact, the writers were by that time at Middleburgh in Zeeland.[3] There Charles had cast himself on the hospitality of a Dutchman called variously, Gelyn or William Croinson, Crinston, Krimson and Quirenssen, who had married an English lady of the Queen of Bohemia's household. Both host and hostess proved in all respects worthy of the trust reposed in them, and the only other persons to whom Charles revealed his secret were the Chancellor, Secretary, Mennes, and the younger Nicholas. It was Mennes's part to receive the King's

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 349, 371; *Nicholas*, ii. p. 204.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. ff. 383, 387, March 13, 1655.
[3] *Thurloe*, iii. p. 190, March 13, 1655.

letters addressed to 'Mr. William Thomas at the Signe of the Towne of Rouen at Flushing,' and to convey them secretly to Middleburgh. John Nicholas was required to keep the ciphers, and to draw up such despatches as might prove necessary. Yet even with this assistance Charles could not long exist without Hyde, and he forthwith summoned him from Cologne, where he and the Secretary had remained 'to make such relations to inquisitive people as they thought fit.' In obedience to this summons Hyde came to Breda, whence he could communicate daily with the King, and where he enjoyed for a while the unwonted luxury of 'being alone with his books.'[1]

Unfortunately the Chancellor's arrival had been preceded by that of other persons whose presence was not desired.

March Charles had left strict orders that his 'family' was to remain quietly at Cologne,[2] yet no sooner was his departure known than several of its members started in pursuit, and among their number Henry Manning, the spy. This man had dwelt unsuspected at the Court since the previous autumn, and his chagrin on learning the King's evasion was great and undisguised. He declared loudly that he was possessed of such important information that without it the King must inevitably be ruined, and when this failed to bring him the desired information, he essayed a direct appeal to the Chancellor. Protesting that 'his father's blood boiled within him and kept him from sleep,' lest 'there should be any sword drawn in England before his,' he entreated to be directed whither to go in order that he might bear his part in the Royalist rising. But Hyde, though far from suspecting his treachery, refused to be drawn, and steadily maintained ignorance of any intended insurrection in England. The spy then fell back on Colonel Herbert Price, a friend and confidant of Rochester, whose loyalty was above suspicion, though

[1] *Nicholas*, ii. p. 226; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 267; *Clarendon*, *History*, xiv. 128-129. [2] *Nicholas*, ii. p. 204.

'his presumption and importunity were always very inconvenient.' To him Manning represented the advisability of repairing to the coast in order to cross to England on the first news of war, promising to pay all expenses if Price would join in his search for the King. Price consented, and, either by chance or guided by some previous hint from Rochester, they betook themselves to Flushing where they soon fell in with Mennes and John Nicholas. This encounter confirmed their belief of the King's near neighbourhood, and Price, 'a man of a very inquisitive nature,' watched his compatriots so closely that he at last contrived to meet the King as he took the evening walk which was absolutely necessary to his health. Charles, greatly annoyed, refused to see Manning, ordered Price to quit the island, and enjoined strict secrecy as to his own presence there. But Manning eventually learned from his companion all that he desired to know, and duly sold the information to the Protector.[1]

Not long after this Charles was occasioned another shock by the arrival of other uninvited guests beneath the same roof.

'Yesterday we were much surprised with the coming hither of Mr. Cottinton's wife's sister with her husband, daughter, and two servants,' announced Ormonde to Hyde. 'They were in the house before we knew of it, so there was no avoiding the necessity of trusting them. What effect their coming may have upon us in other respects I know not, but the daughter, though little more than a girl, makes Mr. Jackson's (the King's) confinement more supportable.'[2]

Notwithstanding this large addition to the party Charles lingered some ten days longer, hoping against hope to be called to England. The want of money had again become pressing, and Ormonde had good reason to wonder how the return journey could be accomplished. April

'Yet we eate and comfort ourselves that the world is

[1] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 190, 301; *Nicholas*, iii. p. 159; *Clarendon, History*, xiv. 141.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 402, March 30, 1655.

mending,' wrote Hyde to Nicholas, 'being refreshed every day with extravagant news from all quarters without any foundation that I know.'[1]

The reports that reached the Continent from England were indeed of the wildest. It was said that Hull, Scarborough, Newcastle, Lynn, and Exeter had declared for the King, that Fairfax had risen with five thousand men, that simultaneous risings had occurred in Wales and the Midland counties, and that Cromwell himself had been killed. Wagstaffe's attempt on Salisbury was, of course, grossly exaggerated, and even after his retreat became known it was believed that he had broken down the bridges and stood on his defence in Cornwall.[2]

During a day passed together near Breda, Hyde and Ormonde agreed to believe only the half of these hopeful rumours, yet when the news of disaster actually arrived they found it hard to realise that all was lost. Conviction of the fatal truth was, however, gradually forced upon them, and despair combined with poverty to drive them back to their 'constant habitation.' About the 9th of April Charles bade farewell to his kind entertainers, knighted his host in token of gratitude, and set out on his return journey.

'Last Friday morning the King removed out of his private quarter in Zeeland back to Cologne with Ormonde, Blague, and two or three other servants with him,' reported Manning. 'This I can assure you, for I parted with him at the boat (which) was to carry him to Dort.'[3]

1655 April Charles returned to Cologne in a sufficiently depressed state of mind, and he found his 'family' there in no better spirits. To the general disappointment was added a deep anxiety concerning the fate of those who had gone to risk their lives at home, and the first few weeks passed

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 4, April 3, 1655.

[2] *Ibid.*, l. fol. 6; *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1655, p. 88; *Nicholas*, ii. pp. 197, 225, 231, 236, 240, 243, 251, 259, 261, 266, 298.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, ff. 4, 15; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 257, 259; *Thurloe Papers*, iii. p. 339.

in gloom and despondency. In course of time the gloom was lightened by the discovery that fugitives from England 'crossed the Channel weekly without difficulty,'[1] and, as the friends who had been given up for lost drifted back to Cologne by ones and twos, grief for their failure became merged in joy for their personal safety.

O'Neil was the first to reappear towards the end of May, Rochester and Halsall followed early in June; in July came Armorer and Wagstaffe, and later still Ross, Stephens, Darcy, Mauleverer and several others.[2] The reunion was finally completed by the arrival of Middleton, who had been struggling ever since February 1654 to maintain the royal cause in Scotland. The hopelessness of that struggle had been obvious for some months past, and in May 1655 Napier and Newburgh had begged the King to grant the Scottish general his recall, and to send a ship to Skye for his safe conveyance to Holland. Negotiations for the chartering of a vessel were still in progress when Middleton landed unexpectedly in Flanders, and made his way to Munster where he was welcomed by Lord Newburgh, Sir William Fleming, Sir William Armorer, Sir George Hamilton, and 'Gervase the Trumpet.' Thus escorted he came to Cologne in the middle of June, and there his first act was to renounce the Scottish Kirk in favour of the Anglican Communion.[3] In him the Presbyterians lost their most popular leader, and the loss was the more significant because the recent failure of the Cavaliers had again brought their rivals to the front. Rochester had declared on his return that 'the Presbyterian interest must do our business,' and the Presbyterians were quite ready to make a new bid for the King's confidence. If Middleton had failed them, his enemy, Balcarres, was

1655 May

June

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 49.

[2] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Adams to Thurloe, July 15-25, 1655; *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, xcvii. fol. 109; *Miscellanea Aulica*, pp. 111-112; *Thurloe*, iv. p. 10; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 31.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 47, May 4-14, 1655; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 283, 288, 322, 328, May 4-14, May 25-June 4; *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 532, 617, June 8-18, July 1-11.

more than willing to fill the gap, and he possessed at least one advantage denied to Middleton in the strong support of the Palais Royal. The opportunity seemed good to the Queen for effecting at once a reconciliation with her son and the destruction of the Chancellor, and towards the end of June she despatched Balcarres on a mission to Cologne. He came, according to common report, 'fully instructed to make an agreement on all hands,' but in reality his mission was threefold, to make peace between the King and his mother, to induce Charles's acceptance of the Presbyterian alliance, and to obtain the dismissal of the Chancellor from his counsels.[1]

As early as April Balcarres had written to Charles bidding him not to be downcast, but to 'trust in God' and 'make peace with the Queen,'[2] but it was not until June that he set out on his journey. In Holland he was joined by Massey, Culpepper, Bunce, and others of his party, whereupon Jane wrote to warn Nicholas that 'a full fleete' of Presbyterians was on the way to Cologne, with the comment that they came to offer terms to the King from mere motives of 'prudence,' and not from affection.

1655 July

'I find there is much brangling but nothing that can reasonably be laid hold of,' he added, 'and I believe the designs of that generation are as fraudulent and trayterous as ever.' Yet even Jane perceived that 'they must be pleased for the present,' and on July 27 he wrote again to Nicholas:

'Though I think no trust at all to be given to those Presbyters, yet I find a necessity of receiving their overtures, and not rejecting their propositions upon the ground of their inclinations which are still as corrupt as ever. And I suspect both nations that are of that leaven,

[1] *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, xcvii. fol. 109; *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 114, June 8, 1655; *Thurloe*, iii. p. 532; *Nicholas*, ii. p. 296; iii. p. 4.

[2] Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 263; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 32, April 13-23, 1655.

for every man sees that Presbytery is destructive to Monarchy.'[1]

Charles was very much of Jane's opinion, but, true to his policy of general conciliation, he received the deputation cordially, 'hushed' a threatened fracas between Balcarres and Middleton, and declared himself ready to embrace the Queen's overtures, provided they might include the Chancellor.[2] Since the overthrow of the Chancellor was an essential part of the programme, the King's attitude was somewhat stultifying, but Balcarres did not yet despair of success. He had found a new ally in Prince Rupert who came to Cologne on Sunday, July 18, bent, it was said, on the same errand as himself, namely, 'to break Hyde's neck.' Certainly the Prince made considerable efforts to unite the faction represented by Balcarres with his own party of 'swordsmen,' and his advances met with prompt response. The Presbyterians began to murmur with reference to Hyde, 'yt the King needed not a lawyer to dispute the right and justice of his title, swords being more needfull than words.' Balcarres professed himself 'for the sword-party very high,' held secret conferences with Rupert, Rochester, Gerard, and Craven, and finally presented his ultimatum to the King. This consisted in an offer to engage the whole Presbyterian interest in men, arms, and money for the royal cause, and to refer all religious disputes to the decision of a National Synod in return for a promise of 'indemnity and reward' for all Presbyterians 'in case of great merit.' It was, however, demanded, as a *sine quâ non*, that Hyde should be absolutely excluded from the King's counsels and that the leadership of the next Royalist rising should be intrusted to Rupert or James.[3]

[1] *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, xcviii. fol. 66; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Adams to Hacker, July 15-25, 1655; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 12; iii. pp. 11, 13, 22.

[2] *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, July 1655, p. 225; *Thurloe*, iii. p. 659; iv. pp. 10, 26; *Nicholas*, iii. pp. 64, 65.

[3] *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, July 1655, pp. 225, 235; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 13, 19; *Thurloe*, iii. p. 459.

To this unpalatable proposal Charles returned no direct answer, but when Rupert was summoned away on business connected with troops which he was levying for the Duke of Modena, his cousin begged him 'abruptly' to return to his own service. Rupert answered 'as suddenly' that 'he would quit all employments to serve him,' but for all that he departed to Hesse Cassel on the following day 'as ill satisfied as ever with Hyde.' Balcarres, equally unsatisfied, endeavoured thenceforth to 'run a design apart,' with the concurrence of the Palais Royal and the traitor Bampfylde. This procedure served only to increase the confusion of Royalist counsels at home, and in the autumn of 1655 Charles was constrained to issue a peremptory order that the Queen and her satellites 'should neither meddle nor make' in England.[1]

The rival Courts remained irreconcilable, and the Presbyterian Mission served only to frustrate Charles's new negotiation at Rome, and to excite the distrust and indignation of all his Roman Catholic friends.

'It is impossible to give satisfaction to the different humours and principles of all parties, who hold it their interest to destroy one another,' protested Nicholas wearily, 'but what may reasonably be done to content them all is really endeavoured.'[2]

Unfortunately the contending parties were seldom amenable to reason, and within the Court itself feeling ran dangerously high.

1655 June

The German city was now as full as ever Paris had been of destitute Cavaliers. Thither had come the young Duke of Gloucester, about the middle of May; he was quickly followed by the Chancellor, and throughout the month of June there were almost daily arrivals at Cologne. By July the list of the household numbered over fifty persons, including Ormonde, Rochester, Wentworth, Middleton, Napier, Norwich, Gerard, Hyde, Nicholas, with his two sons, John and Edward, Sir

[1] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 490-491, 659; iv. pp. 86, 122.
[2] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 54, 64-65, 68.

William Flemming, Sir George Hamilton, with his son George, the page, Sir James Hamilton, Sir John Morley, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir William Armorer, Daniel O'Neil, James Halsall, Thomas Elliot, Edward Progers, Richard Harding, Richard Belling and his son, Stephen Fox, George Arnet, George Lane, John Griffith, Baal Scott, Dr. Fraser, the Colonels John Stephens, Robert Philipps, Warren, Ogilvy, and Manning, Major Cooper, 'Mr. Loder of the Council,' George Barker, Thomas Chiffinch, Toby Rustat, Robert Swan, 'Gervase the Trumpet,' and 'all sorts of ordinary servants.'[1] Amidst this numerous company faction raged the more fiercely for the bitterness engendered by recent disaster.

'I confess, when I reflect on the dispositions among ourselves, it is more formidable to me than the rebels' power,' lamented Jane. 'Men would have they know not what, or anything but what is.'

And declared Mewes:

'I cannot but pity the poor King, who must be so perplexed with the factions and unreasonable humours of some people. God direct him in these great difficulties, for his trials are above the strength of a man.'[2]

But though the King might be pitied, it was on the Chancellor that the burden chiefly fell. Their common hostility towards him gave a point of union to those who agreed in nothing else, and, save for Ormonde and Charles himself, he was without a friend at Court. Even his old colleague Nicholas nursed a sullen resentment for what he conceived to have been Hyde's want of confidence in himself, regarding the English rising.

'I confess I do not understand the reason of such his reservedness in matters not incommunicable to one in my place, to whom he professes, and would have the world believe, he bears an entire friendship,' complained the old Secretary to Ormonde. '. . . And I should not have presumed to have said thus much of his unkind

[1] *Thurloe State Papers*, iii. pp. 428, 458, 532-533, 561, 659.
[2] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 12, 20.

reservedness, but for what you were pleased to say to me here the night before your departure, concerning his perfect kindness to me, which, I assure you, I have of late observed to be much more in discourse than real, as to my particular. I presume he is other to those for whom he hath more esteem.'[1]

Others expressed themselves more plainly, and did not scruple to attribute the Royalist misfortunes chiefly, if not solely, to Hyde's personal vanity and self-sufficiency.

'He is certainly a most unfortunate man, though I can never believe him a dishonest, for you will never find yt any party, be it Presbyter, Independent, or Cavalier, will be content to come under his governance,' averred Norwich. '. . . His overvaluing himself and undervaluing others, together with his grasping at too much, hath brought and will, if it be still permitted, bring irrevocable inconvenience, if not ruin to affairs.'

And again:

'Whilst he thus absolutely stands at helme you will hardly see many yt will pull at a rope or mannadge a sayle.'[2]

These complaints and accusations, though prompted mainly by jealousy, were not wholly unprovoked by Hyde's own attitude towards his fellow-courtiers. A certain intellectual arrogance inspired him with a contempt, often well-founded, for the views and opinions of those around him; this contempt he was not careful to conceal, and his sharp tongue and caustic humour made him many enemies. Doubtless also he owed some of his unpopularity to the pressure of a poverty for which he, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was too often held responsible. This certainly lent point to the strictures of the old Earl of Norwich, who applied for relief in July, alleging that he had difficulty in obtaining a crust of bread, that his clothes were unfit to be seen, and his boots so thin that he dared not venture out in the rain.

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 252.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii. pp. 320, 344; iii. pp. 6-7, 15.

Photograph by Emery Walker, London.

SIR EDWARD HYDE, FIRST EARL OF CLARENDON.
From the picture in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

When assured that the King was penniless and all the rest in a like case, he protested resentfully, that he must 'retire into some cave or bush,' but eventually thought better of that resolve, mended his 'ould breeches' and came to swell the impecunious throng at Court. 'How they will all live God knows! I am sure I do not!' exclaimed Thurloe's spy.[1]

To this serious problem no very satisfactory solution was forthcoming. Ormonde, obliged after all to relinquish his lodgings to Henry, and already in debt 'all the world over,' proposed indeed to live 'upon charity or contemplation,'[2] but the prospect was not alluring, though it seemed likely enough to be his fate for any help his master could afford. The expedition to Zeeland had cost Charles twenty thousand dollars, 'a sum not readily repaired by that Prince'; supplies from England were totally cut off by the recent misfortunes, less than half of the promised German contributions had been paid, and of the French pension, which passed through the hands of the Queen and Jermyn, only a very small proportion ever reached Cologne. Thus the Chancellor's careful scheme of expenditure had been brought to nought within the year, and on the 8th of June he wrote sadly to Sir Richard Browne:

'There is as much poverty here as you have known in Paris.'[3]

A proposal to meet the emergency by the sale of the remaining crown jewels proved futile, because all were pawned, past redemption, and on June 19 Charles called a council of Henry, Ormonde, Wentworth, Hyde, and Nicholas, to consider the immediate difficulties. After long discussion it was decided to send Belling to solicit prompt payment from the Emperor and Princes, to demand a strict account of the French pension from

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 326, 340; iii. p. 15; *Thurloe*, iii. p. 465.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 293.

[3] *Thurloe*, iii. p. 522; *Evelyn, Diary*, iv. pp. 304, 306; *Cal. Clarendon MSS.*, iii. pp. 18, 25, February 18-March 21, 1655; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 199.

Jermyn, and to reduce the household expenses as much as possible. 'His Majesty,' it was recorded, 'having taken the insupportableness of his present charge into consideration, hath resolved to retrench the same with all convenient expedition, and likewise to write himself to my Lord Jermyn for an account of the present state of his pension in France, his Majesty depending chiefly thereupon as the most solid foundation for his subsistence.'[1]

This resolution caused much heartburning at the Palais Royal, where it was asserted that the King received ample support from his sister, and that his Council was 'more skilful to spend' than to raise money. These statements augured ill for Jermyn's reply to Charles's letter, and in the meantime the Court was really more or less dependent on such help as Mary could afford, about fifty pounds a month, irregularly paid.[2] This left little margin for extraneous expenses, and when De Vic threatened to quit his post at Brussels for want of money, Hyde could only answer him with a description of the general condition at Cologne.

'The King hath not money enough to provide meate for himself for the next ten days, nor have I, at any time, seen the Court in greater want, save that there is not any importunity from the inhabitants of this place for the money dew to them. And yett of 2000 dollars borrowed from one person to inable the King to make his last journey, there remayne still 1200 unpayd. Add to this three months arrears—soe much there will be on Thursday next—for boarde wages to the family, and the extreame necessity many honest men are in who came lately, and indeede come every day from England and Scotland, and then think with yourself how easy this place is like to be to the King and those who are trusted in his affairs. There is nothing to support all these pressures but the expectation of the money from the

[1] *Dom. State Papers*, Interreg., xciv. fol. 113; *German Papers*, R. O., liv. June 19, 1655; Notes of Council at Cologne.

[2] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 6 *Thurloe Papers*, i. p. 683.

German Princes who are so slow in paying though they multiply their promises.'[1]

From the general condemnation of German Princes, the Count of Neuburg and the Elector of Mainz were exempt. Both had paid their subsidies promptly, and Neuburg showed himself in more ways than one 'a zealous friend' to the King. In June Charles passed a pleasant week at Düsseldorf, and the summer months were brightened for him by his friend's frequent visits and hunting parties.[2] Other entertainments were few enough. Occasionally the King and his brother were invited to witness some great religious procession, or attended compline in state at the cathedral, and they endeavoured to fill their enforced leisure with such studies as had occupied Charles in the previous winter. The needful books were provided by Mary, and used by Henry to such purpose that he was able to amuse himself by writing letters in Italian to James's secretary, Bennett, an honour which that person received without enthusiasm.[3]

Literature of a light nature came to Cologne from Paris, whence James despatched *The Gazette Burlesque* weekly, and more occasionally *Songs of the Last Ballet.* From Paris, too, came the two summer suits and the new sword which Charles, notwithstanding his poverty, found indispensable to existence.

'My cloaths are at last come, and I like them very well all but the sword, which is the worst I ever saw,' he wrote to Bennett on July 5. 'I suspect very much that it was you that made the choice, therefore you have no other way to recover your judgment in that particular but to make choice of a better, and, if you go to the shop where I bought mine when I came out of Paris, you can hardly be mistaken. My brother can tell you where it is.'

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 77, June 29, 1655; *Nicholas*, ii. p. 278.

[2] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 457, 617; *Cal. Dom. State Papers*, June 3-13, 1655.

[3] *Miscellanea Aulica*, pp. 115, 123; *Thurloe*, i. pp. 665, 686; iii. pp. 465, 561, 732.

But it was not until the following October that the new sword was sent with the assurance, 'It hath the approbation of men of the profession, which makes me hope your Majesty will like it. The workman by the Louvre made it.'[1]

1655 July Whether satisfactory or not the second sword came too late for use at the festivities attendant on the Princess Mary's annual visit to her brother. As early as July 11 Tom Killigrew appeared at Cologne to make ready for her reception there, and a few days later she began her journey. On July 30 she paused at Meurs to enjoy an interview with James, who was, as usual, campaigning with Turenne; on the next day she was met by her elder brother and proceeded, under his escort, to Cologne.

August Anticipation of this visit had helped to sustain Charles throughout the preceding months, and independently of his pleasure in his sister's company, he had much reason to be glad of her presence. For the time she 'kept the table' enabling her brothers and their friends to live freely at her expense, also she flooded the place with cheerful society, and on August 17 Charles wrote exultantly to Bennett:

'You must not expect to hear from me very often so long as my sister is here, for you may easily guess that I will be in her company as much as I can while she stays here. And indeed Cologne is not a little altered, for from having very little company, and some of those worse than none, we have now as good as can be and pass our time as well as people can do that have no money, for we dance and play as if we had taken the plate fleet.'[2]

September In these gaieties Mary was unable to take an active part. Her health was far from good, and she found it necessary to put herself in the hands of the Court physician, Dr. Fraser.

[1] *Miscellanea Aulica*, pp. 114, 116; *Thurloe*, i. pp. 666, 685, 686. *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report 12, Appendix vii. p. 16.

[2] *Cal. Dom. State Papers*, Manning to Thurloe, July 3-13, 1655; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 6; *Miscellanea Aulica*, pp. 117-118.

'It is happy for her that Dr. Fraser is her physician, for else it 's likely she would have been very ill indeed,' averred Nicholas. 'She will not stir these two months, I believe.'[1]

But under Fraser's skilful treatment Mary recovered more rapidly than had been expected, and by the end of September she was able to accompany her brothers to Frankfort, where the annual Fair was in progress. The travellers, much to their own delight, journeyed under a very obvious incognito, and a graphic account of their adventures duly appeared in the English papers.

'Having been lately at Frankfort Fair, I saw there the Scottish King, as they call him, with whom there was his sister, the Princess of Orange, and his youngest brother, Henry, who travelled all together from Cologne to Frankfort,' wrote the correspondent of the *Mercurius Politicus*. 'That they might seem to go the more privately they took no great retinue with them. Charles had for his attendants the Marquis of Ormonde, the old Lord Goring (*i.e.* Norwich), and Lord Newburgh. He had also Dr. Fraser, a Scotchman, his physician, and Mr. O'Neil, groom of his Bedchamber. Of the attendants of his sister of Orange there was my Lady Stanhope and Heenvliet her husband, Mrs. Lane, together with some inferior servants. When they went from Cologne they were in a coach with six horses, and in this equipage they marched beyond Bonn, the place where the Elector of Cologne used to keep his Court. The next day they had a pleasure-boat met them, wherein they all embarked themselves, and so were drawn up the river all the way to Frankfort. Their way of travelling was very convenient for, besides the greater, they had two lesser boats fastened to it. In one they conveyed all their beds, trunks, and wardrobes, and they made a kitchen of the other, which was a very fine accommodation for this water voyage that continued for four or five days, having

[1] *Domestic State Papers*, Interreg., c. fol. 84, Sept. 4-14, 1655.

all their victuals dressed at hand, and at table there was no state nor distinction among them, eating all together, as I hear, to make the more merry.

'In the acting of this frolic they would needs pretend to pass incognito, yet carried the matter so notoriously that it was known all abroad, and therefore, in every Prince's country they passed through, they had the civility of a compliment by their chief officers, and were saluted by the great ordnance of all their towns and castles. But the compliment was the most remarkable in the Elector of Mayence (Mainz) country, whose grandmaster came and invited them to his master's Court. But at present they put off the invitation with an excuse, and sent a lord, the Lord Newburgh, back with the Marshal to give the Elector thanks, and to let him know their great occasions at Frankfort Fair could not be dispensed with then, but in their return they would not fail to visit his Electoral Highness.'[1]

This excursion which gave so much delight to the royal tourists seems to have been viewed with disfavour by their graver adherents. Nicholas opined severely that it was 'a strange journey, all things considered, but young Princes think of nothing but pleasure.' And Ormonde, who accompanied the expedition, was moved thereby only to sad thoughts. 'We have seen a great variety of country and shuch dismall effects of war as makes me pray God to find us some other means of getting home in his good time,' he told Hyde. And of the delights of Frankfort he wrote sarcastically to Nicholas. 'We have already seen the Jews' Sinagogue, the Faire, and a play, and to-morrow we shall bee at a Lutheran service. Monsters here are none that I can heare of, nor pupet plays, and what els can be worth our stay? In our return it will be contrived to have a meeting betweext the King and the Ellector of Mainz. By my computation this will be with you on a busy day,

[1] *Mercurius Politicus*, Oct. 25, 1655; Green's *Princesses*, vi. p. 230.

which is your recreation as much as the Faire is mine, and so I leave you to it.'[1]

The lack of Monsters was, perhaps, compensated by the advent of Christina of Sweden. That eccentric lady had long been the wonder of Europe for her marvellous erudition, but her great talents were unfortunately united to an ill-balanced mind, and a craving for notoriety amounting almost to insanity. All her graces of mind and person were marred by a bizarre spirit and a peculiar costume, and, since her abdication, the strangeness of her vagaries had become the theme of every mouth. With her crown she had cast aside the trammels of conventionality, as many thought, of all decorum also, and in August 1654 she had created much scandal by arriving at Brussels 'in man's apparel, disguised as a page to one of her own servants, not so much as a maid besides in her company.' There the burden of her entertainment fell upon that 'verie modest man' the Archduke Leopold, and to his extreme chagrin she remained his guest for nearly fourteen months, while the world awaited her next move with unabated curiosity.[2] Popular fancy saw in the errant Queen a fitting bride for the exiled King, but Christina's sentiments towards Charles were uncertain and variable. From kindness she had passed to indifference, thence to unmistakable coldness, and one of the last acts of her reign had been the conclusion of a commercial treaty with England. At Brussels she indulged in contemptuous observations concerning the English in general and the Stuarts in particular, 'extolling' Condé and Cromwell, and speaking 'very slightly' of both Charles and his father. For this reason Charles forbade his resident, De Vic, to visit her, and for this reason also the Queen of Bohemia refused a meeting desired by Christina.

1654 August

December

'Because,' she explained, 'I had no mind to speak with

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 145, Sept. 25, 1655; *Nicholas*, iii. p. 61.

[2] *Thurloe*, ii. p. 499; *Evelyn*, iv. p. 222.

her since I heard how unhandsomely she had spoken of the King my dear brother, and the King my dear nephew, and indeed of all our nation.'

1655 September

But by the autumn of 1655 Christina's feelings had undergone another change and she expressed a desire to visit Charles at Cologne, as she passed by on her way to Rome. De Vic thereupon ventured to seek an audience of her and was very cordially received.

'After she had thanked me in my particular for my respects to her, shee spake very kindly and with great esteem of the King our maister,' he reported, 'wishing it were in her power to make demonstrations of it of more use and advantage to him than such as do stand with her present condition; adding that she was putt in expectation of seeing him in her way.'[1]

When Christina reached Cologne on the morning of September 28 Charles was absent at Frankfort, and thither she pursued him, with her train of seven coaches

October

and two hundred persons. He, less resentful than his aunt, came with his brother, sister, and cousin Rupert, to meet her at Königstein, and there, on October 3, the two held a long private conference. Henry, Rupert, and Mary were afterwards summoned to join them, and the visit was attended with so much mutual satisfaction that Christina threatened, at parting, to carry Henry off with her to Rome. Subsequently she was heard to observe:

'The people talk that I am going to Loretto to offer up a sceptre and crown to the Lady Mary there. I laid down these regalities in Sweden, and if I had another crown to dispose of I would rather bestow it on the good poor King of England.'[2]

In the case of the Swedish Queen Charles had suffered curiosity to obliterate the memory of past slights, but he

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 142, 274; iii. pp. 46, 57, 69; *Evelyn*, iv. p. 217.

[2] *Domestic State Papers*, c. fol. 129, Sept. 18-28, 1655; *Thurloe*, iv. pp. 65, 81, 89; *Eglesfield*, p. 193.

was not always so forgiving, and when his cousin, Charles Louis of the Rhine, appeared in Frankfort, he resolutely refused to meet him. This implacability was not without cause. The Elector, forgetful of all the kindness lavished on him at the English Court, had deserted his uncle, Charles I., on the outbreak of the Civil War, and had subsequently attempted to gain the favour and confidence of the winning side.[1]

Eventually shame had forced him to resent his uncle's death and to reconcile himself, after a fashion, with his exiled cousin, but, since his restoration to his principality, he had consistently endeavoured to ignore that cousin's existence, and had carefully eschewed all intercourse with him during his sojourn at Cologne. But when the King came to Frankfort at the very time that the Elector had resolved to be present, it was no longer possible to ignore him; Charles Louis felt compelled to invite his cousins to Heidelberg, and news of his intention was brought to Frankfort by his brother Rupert.

'Prince Rupert is here, and the Prince Elector expected, and an invitation from him. If it were not for the charge that attends such treatments I doubt we should go,' wrote Ormonde on September 29.

It was not, however, the incidental expenses but the manner of the invitation that prevented its acceptance. Charles Louis, who was really in great straits of poverty, had no intention of entertaining the royal party, and took care to ensure the rejection of his proffered hospitality. Joined with his invitation he sent a private intimation that, as an Elector of the Empire, he expected to take precedence of a mere King, and to such a message there could be but one answer. Charles declined the invitation with cold thanks and excuses.[2]

The Elector then came to Frankfort but forbore to pay a visit of ceremony to the King and Princess because

[1] *Rupert, Prince Palatine*, pp. 88-89; 184; 205-208.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 149; *Domestic State Papers*, Interreg., c. p. 378, Sept. 28-Oct. 8, 1655.

'he was given to understand that they stood still upon their former punctilios, and scrupled to yield him that reception and respect which the Emperor himself and the King of the Romans use to exhibit to a Prince Elector.' As an alternative he sought a chance meeting when formalities might be waived without offence, and at last encountered his cousins at the theatre. To his astonishment they turned and fled on sight of him 'with such precipitation' that though he immediately gave chase he failed to overtake them. Much annoyed by this rebuff, he sent to complain of the 'unkindness' and to express his desire for a meeting before he left Frankfort on the following day, but, though he awaited an answer till noon none came, and he was forced to depart without the desired interview. 'And strange it was to observe that not one person of all the train of the King and Princess of Orange came or desired to see and speak with any of the Prince Elector's; that everybody took notice of and marvelled at his (the King's) unnatural strangeness,' declared Thurloe's correspondent. To the Royalists the affair appeared in a different light, and on October 12, Nicholas wrote to Jane:

'I send you Sir William Curtius relation . . . of the Elector Palatine's base neglect of the King, but keep it to yourself and let none of the good Queen of Bohemia's family see it, but Sir Charles Cotterel.'

Charles marked his deep resentment by refusing all civilities proffered on his cousin's territory. 'Of the Palatinate he would taste nothing,'[1] and he wrote of the incident to Bennett. 'You will have heard by others how my cousin has behaved himself towards me, by which you will see he is not a whit changed. But at the same time,' he added, 'I must tell you I have been used with all the civility and kindness imaginable by the Elector of Mainz, who truly is one of the best and discreetest men that ever I saw. And I do assure you that our meeting

[1] *Thurloe*, iv. p. 88; *Nicholas*, iii. p. 99; *Holland Papers*, R. O., Nicholas to Jane, Oct. 2-12, 1655.

has not been unuseful to me, the effects whereof I hope yow will see when it shall be seasonable.'[1]

The kindness of John Philip of Mainz had in fact gone far to console the King for the conduct of Charles Louis of the Rhine. Mindful of the royal party's promise to visit him on the return journey the Bishop-Elector sent servants to bring them from Frankfort to a small village in his own dominions. There 'a very noble supper and good lodging were provided and, on the next day, the host himself escorted his guests to another place near Mainz, 'where they were most nobly feasted for two days.' On the third day they took their leave 'and so, after compliments passed on both sides, they finished their frolic and returned to Cologne.'[2]

Charles, at least, was well satisfied with his holiday. 'We returned to this place on Tuesday last, and all our company very well pleased with our voyage,' he wrote, 'for indeed it was as pleasant a journey as ever I saw.' To some extent the journey had been profitable also, for the Electors of Mainz and Trèves had both paid their monthly subsidies in full, but the expedition itself had been costly, and funds were still urgently needed for political purposes and present necessities. In the circumstances Charles desired to have the pension assigned him by his sister paid into the hands of his own agent, and for this purpose he ordered O'Neil to accompany the Princess when, on November 18, she reluctantly began her homeward journey.[3] 1655 November

Although the pension was already anticipated by several months, Charles spent it liberally in imagination, and O'Neil found himself loaded with commissions which it was impossible to execute. On November 30 he declined the purchase of sables on the grounds that he had 'neither money nor credit,' and a fortnight later he again wrote to the King.

[1] *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 120, Oct. 18, 1655.

[2] *Mercurius Politicus*, Oct. 27, 1655; *Thurloe*, iv. p. 88.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 145; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 61; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 169.

1655
December

'Mr. Fox writ to me that it was your Majesty's pleasure I should buy liveries here for ten persons, of such cloth and lace as he sent me a pattern. I should most willingly have obeyed your Majesty's command if I had money or credit to do it, but I have none of my own, nor I do not see until February that there is anie for your Majesty.'

Convinced at last that he had nothing to expect until February 1656, Charles next bade O'Neil present 'Mrs. Hyde' with the half of the sum due in that month, five hundred guilders. To this O'Neil replied drily that Mrs. Hyde was grateful for the kind intention, but could not possibly receive the money since that amount was 'already consumed upon liveries and dogs,' and the remaining half of the pension had been granted to Henry of Gloucester, 'so that hereafter your Majesty is not to account but upon five hundred a month.'

The dogs to which O'Neil alluded were a pack of hounds thoughtlessly sent from England as a present to the King. Their arrival proved a serious embarrassment, and the King, unable to incur the expense of keeping them, ordered their immediate return to the donor. But that also required money, and O'Neil had none. His request to the Princess Mary that she would either keep the hounds for her own use or pay for their removal met with a decided refusal, and in the end he judged their despatch to Cologne the most economical plan.

'My Lord Newburgh tells me your Majesty will not have the dogs which came out of England, but will have them returned,' he wrote on December 14. 'He has writ a letter to Her Highness offering them to her, but she tould me she will neither have them nor be at the charge of returning them. They have already cost your Majesty much monny, and they will cost you little less to return them than will keep them at Cologne this twelve month. In my opinion your Majesty will do better to send for them. If you do not make use of them when your Majesty is in Flanders you cannot make a finer present to the Archduke, for I never see a finer pack.'

Charles really hoped to be soon in a position to make a present to the Archduke Leopold, and in January 1656 he permitted the huntsman to bring the hounds, fourteen couple, to Cologne. They had already cost three hundred guilders in Holland, and Thomas Howard, one of Mary's household, made a further claim of four hundred guilders for his share in their transport. Fortunately, Heenvliet, to whom he applied himself, referred him to O'Neil, who was well aware that only a tenth of that sum was really due.'[1] In the next month two English horses were sent to Cologne by Crofts,[2] and Charles was thus provided with the means of hunting whenever occasion served, but in spite of this he found existence dull enough. A curious incident occurred in December, when some of the royal plate, stolen in the previous January, was mysteriously restored, being placed in a church at night, and recognised by the royal arms. It was supposed that restitution had been enjoined on the thief in confession, and though one dish was missing, and all the rest was so 'much abused' as to need remodelling, the unexpected recovery was cheering and afforded matter for comment in a society of which the daily routine was varied only by the arrival of the *Gazette Burlesque* and the inevitable Court quarrels.[3]

[1] *Thurloe*, i. pp. 681-683; iv. p. 206.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. p. 697.
[3] *Ibid.*, iii. pp. 44, 53, 70; *Cal. Clar. State Papers*, iii. p. 73.

CHAPTER V

Revival of Hope at Cologne—Arrests in England—Banishment of Cavaliers from London—Military Government in England—Persecution of Cavaliers—Justification of Cromwell—Indignation in England—Royalist Plots—Royalist Emissaries—Restlessness in England—In Scotland—In Ireland—Rumours of Cromwell's Death—His Difficulties—Failure of the Assassination Plot—Arrest of Halsall, Talbot, and Dongan—Treachery of Masten—Examination of Halsall—Of Talbot—Escape of Dick Talbot—Of Dongan—Sufferings of Halsall in the Tower—Accusation of Dongan—Of Talbot—Intrigues of Gilbert Talbot—Suspicions of George Lane—Of the Chancellor—Henry Manning—His Career at Court—His Treachery—His Arrest—Defence—Execution—Uneasiness at Court—Spies at Cologne and in Flanders.

1655 April CHARLES had left Zeeland in April, torn between hope and fear, almost convinced that his cause was 'absolutely quashed in England,' and yet clinging to the belief that O'Neil and Rochester were already 'endeavouring to lay the foundation of some new design,' or at least to establish 'shuch a correspondence as may in time come to something.'[1]

May With the return of O'Neil hope came uppermost, and Charles immediately sought to reassure his brother James. 'I hope,' he wrote to Bennett, 'my brother does not so give over our great business but that we may be thinking of some new design in England, of which I assure you, I have much more hopes since O'Neil's coming over.'[2]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. ff. 34, 36, April 23-27, 1655.

[2] *Miscellanea Aulica*, pp. 111-112, 116; *Domestic State Papers*, xcvii. fol. 109.

Rochester, though he brought 'no particular designs,' proved not less encouraging than his colleague, and after conference with him Charles again expressed his hopefulness, adding, 'when you and I have talked one half hour together I am confident you will find that I am not without some ground for being of this opinion.'[1] 1655 June

Already a new rising was contemplated, and the issue of a declaration whereby the people might be drawn to the King was under consideration. As to the scope and conditions of the declaration opinions varied. Jane thought the King should be careful not to promise too largely 'since there is danger by too much counting of enemies to lose friends.' Norwich desired security offered to all parties, 'which briefly must be by a Parliament and Synod.' All were, however, agreed that the death of the Protector was 'the sole medicine' and a necessary preliminary to further action.[2]

In the meantime the Protector was taking measures to render future insurrections impossible. The treachery of Henry Manning had delivered the whole Cavalier party into his hand, and when warned, by the same agency, of continued unrest, he was at no loss how to act.[3]

On the morning of May 21/31 the Scottish Earls of Crawford, Lauderdale, Kellie, and Sinclair, David Leslie, and the two Ashburnhams were roused from their beds in the Tower and secretly transferred to other prisons. On the same day a fresh search for Royalists was instituted in London, and Lord Byron was seized, with his son and several others, 'on suspicion of a design against the person of the Protector.' Five days later the Lords Willoughby and Newport, Henry Seymour, Geoffrey Palmer, Sir Frederick Cornwallis, and Sir Orlando Bridgeman were taken in London. Lovelace, Falkland, and Lindsay were arrested in Oxfordshire, and before the end of the month

[1] *Miscellanea Aulica*, pp. 111-112, 116; *Dom. State Papers*, xcvii. fol. 109.

[2] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 384, 457, 561; *Nicholas*, ii. p. 349; iii. pp. 2, 18; *Dom. State Papers*, Interreg., xcviii. ff. 45, 64.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 81; *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 338-340, 358, 383-384, 429, 591-592; iv. p. 10; *Cal. Dom. S. P.*, June 21-July 1, June 22-July 2.

Northampton and Coventry, with others too numerous to mention, had suffered a like fate. In the north all 'dangerous persons' were detained in custody, everywhere the prisons were crowded with Royalists, and it was reported that 'hundreds more are in His Highness' pocket.'[1]

1655 July

Throughout June the arrests continued without cessation, and on July 6/16 a proclamation of the Protector banished from London all who had ever served the King or borne arms against the State, and bade them return to their homes within six days on pain of being regarded as 'disturbers of the peace.'[2]

Thus were the reviving hopes of the Royalists abruptly quashed, and Armorer, who seems to have escaped by flight from London, wrote sadly of the arrests to the King.

'Saturday last was a sore blow to your Majesty's good friends. . . . That sad misfortune has hindered me to make some propositions to your Majesty from some that I heard upon the way, as I left London, were amongst the number of those taken. . . . God has yett preserved some that trewly I hope cannot come under suspicion, who are both willing and I hope will be able to serve you. I am, by their order, to inform them, as soon as your Majesty thinks fit, which way your Majesty will be served by them.'

He concluded with a request that no letters might be sent 'till this storm be over,' and when he reached Flanders in the following month he still counselled Charles 'to be quiet awhile' and await some new division in the English Government.'[3]

But it was not Cromwell's intention to permit his enemies to recuperate their strength. The events of the year had unmistakably demonstrated the existence of a considerable Royalist population, wholly irreconcilable to his Government, and when Hatton wrote, 'Doubtless they

[1] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 469, 476, 537; *Clarke Papers*, iii. pp. 40, 41, 43; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 336; iii. pp. 5, 8; *Cal. Dom. S. P.*, 1655, p. 275.

[2] *Cal. Dom S. P.*, July 6, 1655, p. 233; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 25; *Thurloe*, iii. p. 676.

[3] *Thurloe*, iii. p 695; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Adams to Thurloe, July 15-25, 1655.

will now labour to extirpate Cavaliers,'[1] he did not greatly err. The Protector's dream of ruling over a godly and willing people was gone, enemies surrounded him on every side, and only the army remained faithful to him still. By the army he had been placed at the head of the State, and by the army he must rule, if he was to rule at all. Thenceforth his policy of government was virtually the same as that for which he had once sought Strafford's life,—an arbitrary rule forced on an unwilling people for their good.

1655 August

The Royalist insurrection had supplied a pretext for the establishment of martial law throughout the country, and the means lay ready to hand in the new Militia embodied for the national defence at the beginning of the year. In May Desborough was established as Major-General of the Western Counties, and in the following August the country was divided into eleven districts, to each of which a Major-General was appointed. These officers, all tried friends of the Protector, were intrusted with powers which entirely over-rode all the ordinary machinery of the law, and their instructions tended to practical annihilation of the Royalists. They were charged to raise and maintain troops, to 'resist, repress, and slay' all enemies of the Protector, 'to keep a strict eye on the carriage of the disaffected,' to prohibit their meetings, whether social or otherwise, to disarm Cavaliers and Papists, and to offer a ten pound reward for information against 'dangerous' persons.

The funds necessary for the maintenance of the new military system were wrung from its intended victims. Cavaliers were now divided into three classes, those who had taken part in any plot against the Protectorate, those who had merely expressed an injudicious sympathy for the King, and those against whom nothing could be proved but that they had been of the late King's party. Those of the first class were imprisoned and their estates sequestered, those of the second class were banished, those of the third class were subjected to an annual

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 253.

of ten per cent. on their property, despite the fact that they had already compounded and purchased pardons expressly freeing them from future payments.[1]

Not content with thus impoverishing the Royalists Cromwell struck next at their moral and intellectual existence. Their refusal to intermarry with any but their own people, and their careful training of their children in their own faith and principles threatened to make them a caste, wherefore they were now forbidden to maintain in their houses any chaplain, priest, or fellow of a college. Such persons were forbidden to teach, preach, or administer the sacraments according to Anglican rites. The use of the English Prayer Book was prohibited, and lawyers and doctors of known Royalist sympathies were debarred from the practice of their professions.[2]

1655 October In October 'a great confluence of the disaffected' to London and the West produced a new proclamation, ordering all to return home before November 5. Additional instructions were also issued to the Major-Generals, enjoining them to obtain from the Royalists an engagement to abstain from plots against the Government, and to betray any coming to their knowledge. They were further required to give bonds for the good behaviour of their servants, and murmurs against the unreasonableness of this were answered by the Protector that he saw 'no reason but yt they may be as able each to govern his own family,' as he himself was to govern the army. He added, 'Yt most of the inconveniences of the Kingdom doe proceed from ye forlorn poor Cavaliers, who get into good houses to be gentleman ushers to ladyes, stewards of great persons, companions to ye gentry, hangers-on, hungry fellows who intrude themselves. These doe empoison their masters' and their servants' minds, strive to keep up ye King of Scots' credit, and for yt end speak

[1] *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, pp. 296, 344, Instructions to Major-Generals, Aug. 22, Sept. 21, 1655; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 95.

[2] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 219; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 229; *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, Declaration in Council, Oct. 31, 1655.

ill of ye State and ye Government, swagger and drink, and therefore to deterre gentlemen from keeping such servants he will have them to answer for their behaviour, words and actions.[1]

The zeal with which the Major-Generals carried out their instructions is amply illustrated by their own despatches, and by the long lists of persons taxed, restrained, and imprisoned. Of resistance there was little, and that of a passive kind. 'Some Cavaliers do yield, others not, though they be forced to let them take what they please,' was the report of a newsletter.[2]

To the exiles who had looked to see this new persecution provoke a new revolt, the general submission was a severe disappointment. 'I believe Cromwell's severity doth rather terrifie than exasperate, and men grow rather fearful than vindictive by it, and by such as I have met with I cannot conclude that heroic zeal is in any fashion,' observed Jane. 1655 December

But it was easy for Jane to criticise the conduct of his unfortunate compatriots from his own safe refuge in Holland, and the few cases of resistance that actually occurred served only to show its futility.[3]

The Royalists were now a disarmed and proscribed people, subjected to an irksome restraint and surveillance, without rights of person or property, deprived of the benefits of law and justice and tried, if tried at all, by an arbitrary and prejudiced court. Even the consolations of religion were denied them, and the secret celebration of their sacred rites was liable to sacrilegious interruption by the soldiers.[4]

[1] *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, October 9, 25, 1655; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 120, 193; *Thurloe*, iv. p. 107.

[2] *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, July 1655, pp. 252, 253; *Thurloe*, iv. pp. 213, 216, 237, 239, 300, 315, 324, 733, 746; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 192.

[3] *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1655, pp. 50, 100; *Holland Papers*, R. O., Dec. 7-17, 1655; *Thurloe State Papers*, iv. pp. 237, 324, 325, 334, 336, 337; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 215, 262.

[4] *Clarke Papers*, iii. p. 130; *Evelyn, Diary*, i. pp. 311, 316, 317, 323; iv. p. 308.

'. . . All show of liberty is lost,' declared Thomas Ross. 'I pray that the sense of memory of it be not lost too if they be long used to the burden.'

Many really believed that Cromwell intended to complete his work by dealing with the English Royalists as he had dealt with the Irish of Drogheda and Wexford,[1] but this sinister rumour had no foundation in fact, and the Protector, on his side, strove to justify his proceedings by a long Declaration, issued October 31, 1655. After giving an accurate account of the whole rise and progress of the late insurrection, he explained the measures taken to prevent its recurrence, and excused their wholesale injustice on the plea that, though few could be convicted, the guilt of the whole Cavalier party was morally certain. 'We appeal to all indifferent men whether the party was not generally involved in this business. . . . But supposing some are innocent, yet as they avow and love and glory in the cause it is but just that they should share in the charge of securing the State against the dangers of which they are the authors.' Finally, the Cavaliers had threatened to become a caste 'as if they meant to entail the quarrel and prevent the means to reconcile posterity.' In cases of stress and danger, concluded the Protector, 'the Supreme Magistrate was not to be bound by ordinary rules, and the preservation of the State necessitated the assumption of a dictatorship.'[2] This Declaration did not pass unchallenged. Unknown to his fellow exiles, Hyde took up his pen and threw down defiance to the Protector in the guise of a letter from a Presbyterian member of the Long Parliament.

'Let us revolve the vast treasure we have lost and compare it with the nothing we possess,' he wrote. '. . . If this be liberty, what nation in Europe lives in servitude?'[3] He voiced the general feeling in England, for the 'sudden,

[1] *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, Ross to Nicholas, Dec. 24, 1655; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 126, 192, 218.

[2] *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, Oct. 31, 1655, pp. 406-410.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, Dec. 1655, A Letter from a True and Lawful Member of Parliament.

strange, and unexpected alteration of government' had struck consternation into the hearts of many besides Royalists. Men saw revived the very methods of government that they had fought to overthrow. Parliaments were practically abolished, taxes were levied by the Protector's ordinance, without the consent of the nation. People were arrested without warrant, imprisoned without trial, denied the writ of 'Habeas Corpus,' and carried to the islands 'beyond seas.' Others were tried by newly erected 'Courts of Injustice' to the full as arbitrary as the abolished Star-Chamber.[1]

The Protector, averred the Levellers, 'under a pretence of liberty, had cheated and enslaved the nations.'[2]

But, though it may be fairly questioned how the sentiments expressed in Cromwell's Declaration became men who had taken the life of Strafford, the statements therein contained were true enough. The Royalists had not ceased and never would cease while a single Stuart survived to plot the restoration of the Monarchy, and many of them sought to cut the knot of destiny by taking the Protector's life.

As to the righteousness of such a deed no scruples were entertained. It is true that Hyde indignantly repudiated all knowledge of Henshaw's plot in July 1654,[3] but he had previously expressed his chagrin that any agent of the 'rebels' should appear on the Continent 'and not have his throat cut,' and he certainly was not ignorant of later plots.[4] Ormonde, Nicholas, and others of the best among the exiles, gave an unhesitating approval to such projects. To them regicides generally, and Cromwell particularly, were the vilest of murderers. They had slain the beloved King, violating in his person all that was sacred in Church and State; to this crime they had added others, the violent oppression of the English

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 41; *Thurloe*, v. p. 419; *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, May-June 1655, pp. 167-168, 179, 196.

[2] *Thurloe*, iv. pp. 321, 372, 380-383.

[3] *The King in Exile*, p. 423.

[4] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 144; *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 6.

nation, the enslavement of the Kingdom of Scotland, and all the brutalities sanctioned in Ireland, not merely in the heat of war, but in cold blood by the Act of Settlement. Lastly, they had set a price upon the head of the second Charles, and did not hesitate to retaliate in kind by plotting the murder of himself and his brothers. By each and all of these crimes they had earned a well-merited death, and since they were beyond the reach of law it was right and necessary to resort to unorthodox methods of executing justice. Cromwell, though not alone in his sins, stood forth as leader of the rest, and it therefore became the duty of 'all honest and loyal subjects . . . to contribute their utmost endeavours' towards procuring his violent death. Gerard recommended the murder to Bampfylde as 'the most deserving and glorious action in the world,' and Nicholas averred 'that no man that shall effect so glorious a work can possibly fail of an ample and very honourable reward for it as well on earth as in heaven.'[1] Yet it is noteworthy that he refused point blank to mention the subject to Charles himself. 'I shall deal clearly with you, that I will never propose any such thing to the King,' was his resolute answer to overtures made by Thomas Ross. And Manning assured Thurloe that the King gave little encouragement to such schemes.

1655 May 'Manie are for assassinating the Protector, but Charles Stewart is not forward in having it done.'[2]

Since it is impossible to believe Charles more scrupulous than Hyde or Ormonde, his attitude must be attributed to motives of prudence. James was less reticent, and in May 1655 he entertained an offer of four Roman Catholics to murder the Protector, and raise all the members of their Church in England for the King.

'The first part of the design seems to me to be better laid and resolved on than any I have known of the kind,' he observed. And he proposed to send one of the four

[1] *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, Sept. 27-Oct. 7, 1655, p. 355; *Thurloe*, iv. p. 196; *Nicholas*, iii. pp. 265, 270.

[2] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 265; *Thurloe Papers*, iii. p. 429.

adventurers to confer with his brother at Cologne. But a sum of ten thousand livres was required for working expenses, and this Charles was unable to provide. The same difficulty obstructed other projects of a similar nature. 'An honest, sober, and resolute man,' recommended by Captain Luke Whittington, demanded a thousand guilders 'to furnish him for the work,' and in May Manning wrote to Thurloe:

'The Lords Gerard and Napier are impatient and offer the undertaking of it if there be due order taken for money to buy horses, etc.; but do you be careful at home. I will not be wanting in giving you notice from hence.'[1]

The spy kept his word, and, though he did not lack imagination, there is evidence that his information was often well-founded. Notwithstanding all precautions, Royalist messengers were continually 'conveigled to and fro,' sometimes by the assistance of private persons, but often by the connivance of Government officials.[2] The King had agents in all the Dutch towns, Zeeland lent him shipping, and it was said that he had four thousand men ready to embark. At the end of May warning was sent of a plot to blow up the Protector, of which Sir Robert Shirley was a reputed author. In June Manning wrote that Colonel John Stephens, Dr. Lloyd, and Robert Lovel were gone on missions to England, and a little later he announced that Richard Rose had followed, to incite them to Cromwell's murder. In letters of July 6 and July 20 he stated that James Halsall, 'one of our chiefest agents,' had left Cologne on the same errand, taking with him a pistol of Lord Gerard's, for which he promised to pay a hundred pounds if the Protector were not dead within three months. On July 9 he added that Ormonde's son, Ossory, then in England, was cognisant of all Stephen's plans, and on July 13 he wrote again:

1655 June

July

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, i. p. 666; iii. p. 429; *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, Sept. 27-Oct. 7, 1655, p. 355.

[2] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 591, 659; iv. pp. 10, 122, 206; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 166.

'One Captain Talbot, a tall young man and an Irish, and Robert Dongan who hath been Ormonde's page, and lately commanded Wogan's troop after his death in Scotland, are sent into England, by way of Dover—their business to assist Stephens.'[1]

1655 September

Notwithstanding a hint that they might be found with Rochester's wife, both Rose and Stephens made the return journey in safety. These and other escapes Manning attributed to Thurloe's refusal to permit him a cipher correspondence with the Governor of Dover,[2] and, wherever the fault, Royalist emissaries continued to pass freely. If men could not do so women were ready to take their place, and Mrs. Earle, Mrs. Elliot, Mrs. Phelipps, and Mrs. Ross carried despatches as bravely as their husbands.

'There is not a passage but either brings or carries over some of their creatures,' declared Adams.

And wrote Manning:

'You cannot imagine the hurt these fidling people do.'[3]

They at least maintained a restless feeling of expectation in the three kingdoms, and throughout the autumn Thurloe continued to receive reports of the most alarming character.

December

In December the King was 'feared and looked for in England'; Massey was at Hamburgh with 'his gang,' Gerard in France, Wagstaffe at Dunkirk, and a riotous crowd assembled at Middleburgh was said to await a wind 'to bring them to England.' Eventually some of them sailed, with a large consignment of arms for a destination unknown, and Thurloe received assurance that 'this next spring is a great rising intended in England if it be not prevented.'[4]

[1] *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 457, 468, 592; iv. pp. 10, 302; *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, xcviii. ff. 65, xcix. ff. 12, 34; *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1655, pp. 213, 216, 220, 225, 235, 236; *Nicholas*, iii. p. 166.

[2] *Thurloe Papers*, iii. p. 591; *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, July 10-20, 1655, p. 235.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 10, 101, 102, 169, 206, 291; *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, July 3, 1655, N. S., p. 215.

[4] *Thurloe*, iv. pp. 10, 143, 157, 169, 205, 233, 371, 444; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 188.

Rumours indicating the King's intention to enter by the 'backdoors' of Scotland or Ireland were hardly less disquieting. Glencairn was known to be 'trinketting in England as well as at home,' Lorne had an agent at Cologne, and the Highlanders maintained an active correspondence with Middleton whose return they expected in the winter. In November Colonel William Borthwick arrived with letters from the King, which informed his friends of 'very good accidents' likely to occur before long, exhorted them to be ready 'to lay hold upon all occasions,' and prohibited the levy of Scottish troops for foreign service as 'prejudicial' to the Royalist interest. Borthwick himself was charged to ascertain the names of those willing to contribute money or to rise for the King, and 'to give encouragement to this people that they might be in a readiness to do him service as occasion served.' His mission was rendered futile by the treachery of his own brother who stole the letters wherewith he was charged, and delivered copies of all to Monk. Glencairn, betrayed in like manner by his 'right hand man,' Colonel Placketer, was arrested together with the young Marquis of Montrose, and the odium of all fell upon the innocent Borthwick whom the Government suffered to go free, 'that he might be the more certainly ruined in the opinion of his own party.'

1655 September November December

But though the Royalist projects thus received a severe check, no Scottish party was really reconcilable to the English rule. Ministers who had been formerly silenced began again to pray for 'all the exiles and prisoners, high and low,' and the country swarmed with Royalist agents who passed continually between Scotland and Ireland.[1]

It was no secret to the Protector that the exiled Court hoped for an alliance with Spain, and was already engaged in an intrigue with the Levellers whereby it was purposed

[1] *Thurloe*, iv. pp. 49, 65, 103-105, 160, 162-163, 187, 221-223, 233, 250, 271, 318, 323, 372, 394, 400, 444, 558, 685, 741, 769; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 250, 260-261; *Ellis Letters*, 2nd Series, iii. p. 375.

to gain possession of some large seaport, preparatory to a Spanish invasion of England. The assistance of a foreign force had now become an essential part of the Royalist schemes, for it was evident to all that 'to begin only with the King's party would be but to make a second part of an ill-tragedy,'[1] unless indeed the new rising were preceded by the death of the Protector.

1655 September-October

In September it was believed that this last contingency had actually come to pass. There was 'a strong report' that Cromwell had succumbed to poison, or to chagrin at the failure of his West Indian expedition, and Ormonde added to his announcement of the King's intended return to Cologne:

'If Cromwell be not dead, see that there be a good peece of beefe; if he be chikins may serve.'[2]

The beef was needed, for the rumour proved a false one, founded on the death of the Protector's old uncle of the same name. Thenceforth the disappointed exiles solaced themselves with the belief that their enemy was too ill 'in body and mind' to long survive, or with reflections on his political and pecuniary difficulties, and on the general obloquy into which he had fallen. Nicholas asserted that he became 'every day more odious to all sorts of people in England,' and Jane that he was 'in very ill terms with his army.' His suppression of newspapers was regarded as 'a sure sign that his affairs both at home and abroad go not well,' and it was hoped that his increasing need of money, in face of an imminent war with Spain, would force him to call a Parliament, and thus deliver him into the hands of the hostile Presbyterians.[3]

The Baptists, more virulent in their enmity than the

[1] *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, Dec. 24-Jan. 3, 1655-6, Langdale to Nicholas.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 149; *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, Sept. 17-27, Sept. 18-28, 1655, pp. 338, 341; *Thurloe State Papers*, iv. pp. 78, 92; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 64, 67.

[3] *Domestic State Papers*, R. O., Interregnum, c. fol. 303; *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, Oct. 1655, pp. 324, 365, 384; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 61, 77, 79, 81, 85, 94, 260, 263.

Presbyterians, were said to be 'feeling the pulse' of the officers, and to entertain designs on the Protector's life.

'Some say, but 'tis thought a fable, that they lately tampered with his barber to make short work of him. But they certainly hope to destroy him by prayer, which, as they say, was the way they raised him.'

Reports of 'great discontents in ye army, city, and country' came continuously from England throughout the autumn, but the wiser among the exiles gave them only a partial credence.

'I wish they do not rather give us their own hopes than matter of fact, which is commonly the fault of our intelligence,' commented Mewes.[1]

He was justified of his pessimism in the following month when the long-cherished assassination plot exploded like a bubble. The persons charged with its execution were, as Manning had affirmed, Colonel 'Jack' Stephens, Colonel James Halsall, 'a little black man,' with a round face and short hair, Captain Richard Talbot, best known by his later title of Tyrconnel, Robin Dongan, the Irish page, and Rochester's servant, Richard Rose. On their arrival in England both Talbot and Stephens were arrested, but they successfully concealed their identity, and were released after a few weeks' detention. Immediately on regaining their liberty they sought out Halsall, but he, in the meantime, had concluded the moment to be unpropitious for action, and positively forbade his companions to proceed in the plot. His decision was confirmed from Cologne as 'very reasonable,' and he thereupon applied himself to another part of his mission, the collection of money 'for public ends.' Stephens returned about the 14th of September, to Dunkirk, where he was detained 'by a desperate and long sicknesse, with extremitie of want.'[2] Rose like-

1655 November

July

August

September

[1] *Dom. State Papers*, R. O., Interreg., cxxiii. fol. 27; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 79, 85.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 149; li. fol. 6; *Cal. Clarendon MSS.*, iii. p. 44; *Carte MSS.*, cxxxi. fol. 175; *Cal. Dom. State Papers*, July 1655, pp. 225, 236; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 166; *Thurloe Papers*, iii. pp. 591, 659; iv. pp. 10, 220.

1655 November wise recrossed the Channel, but Talbot and Dongan remained in England, and, after an interval, again urged Halsall to action. Halsall again demurred, objecting a lack of funds 'for mounting and furnishing such as should assist,' whereupon Talbot offered him 'a lady's jewel worth £1500,' desiring him to pawn it 'for as much money as would furnish them all.' Halsall, still hesitating, promised an answer 'in a few days,' but before the few days were passed, procrastination had ended as Talbot had feared.[1] On November 16,[2] Halsall was seized at the door of his lodgings, his hands bound, his hat taken from him and the lining of it ripped up to disclose the papers therein concealed. Henry Prescott, 'a young youth' in his company, escaped by flight, only to be arrested later, and on the same day, as Halsall's servant said, but on the day following, by his own account, 'Dick' Talbot was taken, with Robin Dongan.[3]

Though Manning had certainly done his best to procure the arrest of the conspirators, Halsall's servant, William Marston, or Masten, appears to have been their more immediate betrayer. Of this Halsall had no doubt at all, for his lodgings were known to four persons only, and he had revealed the secret of his papers to none but Masten, in whom he confided much, even 'to the letting him know all his business.'[4] But since the master was, for the moment, unable to reveal his suspicions to his friends, the man was enabled to continue his treacherous career with some success. In the character of the affectionate and faithful servant, he sought out Halsall's friend, Charles Davison, whom he knew to be in possession of his master's cipher. Next he proceeded to

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 6, 8, R. Talbot and George Lane to Ormonde.

[2] Halsall gives this date. His servant gives November 18. *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 64.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 33, Halsall to Ormonde, January 6-16, 1656; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 103, 300, 473; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 204, 208.

[4] *Carte MSS.*, cxxxi. fol. 181; ccxiii. fol. 50; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 474, 579.

Dover for conference with a certain Foster or Forster, one of those Government officials, 'who gave liberty to many to make escapes,' and from Dover he crossed to Dunkirk, where he informed Stephens of the disaster, and gave directions for the safe despatch of letters to Davison. Thence he wrote to inform Edward Halsall of his brother's misfortune.

'SIR,—I am very sorry I must be the forst of this il news, mor is my hard fortane yt I should ever see it. Sir, my master was tacan last Thursday and Colonel Talbot, and robin Dongan and som mor but I can not tel ther names. I was not with him wene this was, if I had (been) it had not gone so, my luife should a gone forst. Mr. Prescott was with him and when he saw them lay hold he ron away as he told me the nex day. Sir, presently I was commanded to go away and give notis of it and according I did. I cam to Dover and gave fosterd notis of it, and then I cam to Donchurch and gave notis to Colonel Stephens. He gave me order to go back agen and to give him notis where he should send his letteres for Mr. Charles Davesson, when, accordin to his command I am retorned agen. I have a noper tunity once in the weeck that I may with ese kil the roge (Cromwell), therefore let me know what I shall do ther in. So with my tru services to yourself and all with you, I rest your servant, WILLIAM MASTEN.'[1]

Within six hours of his arrival at Dunkirk, Masten re-embarked for Dover, where he explained to Foster the arrangements made for a correspondence between Stephens and Davison. Proceeding to London, he endeavoured to obtain an interview with his master, on pretence of a message from Ormonde, but failing in this, he procured the arrest of Davison with the cipher, and a letter enclosed under his cover to Lady Ormonde. The next victims were Halsall's elder brother 'and his clerk.' Subsequently Masten was seen twice at Whitehall by

1655 December

[1] *Carte MSS.*, cxxxi. fol. 175; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 197; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 161, 166.

Prescott, who, being in custody, could not speak to him, and later he departed to Dover 'very gallant and full of gold.'

1656 February 'He may well be full of gold, for I am almost confident he had £2000, if not more, for his service,' observed his master bitterly.[1]

Halsall had before that found means to communicate with his fellow-prisoner, William Rumbold, who had resources of his own for reaching the outside world. Thus Stephens had been informed 'that for certain Masten is a roge, and hath betraied his master, and as

March much of the business, and as many others as he could.' Ormonde also received warning that Masten was about to visit the Continent 'on some mischievous design,' to which he had been prompted 'by the people at Whitehall.' 'I believe he will hardly adventure so far as your Court, but do feare that he may adventure upon your friend Mr. Stephens at Dunkirk,' wrote the Marquis's correspondent. '. . . Therefore I pray you acquaint your master with this story, that Stephens, or whomsoever you shall think fit, do make sure work with him whereby he may never return. This care being taken with such a roge will add very much to the security of your friends here.'[2]

1657 January Masten appears to have had the wit to keep out of Stephen's reach, but two years later he fell into the hands of the Spaniards, then in alliance with the King, and only saved his life by claiming the protection of the Roman Church, to which he professed himself a convert.[3]

1655 November The treachery of Masten was to some extent countervailed by the mutual loyalty of the conspirators. Immediately after their arrest they were brought before the

[1] *Carte MSS.*, cxxxi. ff. 175, 181, 186; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 87; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 570, 622, 719.

[2] *Carte MSS.*, cxxxi. ff. 181, 186; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 83.

[3] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 222, January 8, 1657. Bennett to King, March 14, 1657. The spy in question is called 'Mosten,' but his connection with Ascham's murder in 1650 identifies him with Halsall's servant.

Council and separately examined by the Protector in person, an ordeal which all bore with a coolness and discretion that augured clear heads and steady nerves. Of the three Halsall was in the most danger. His cipher and papers had been taken, and the first, written, as Cromwell believed, in the hand of George Lane, clerk of the King's Council, contained the names of many leading Royalists, the second afforded evidence of 'a kind of treaty with the Levellers.' Moreover, Halsall's connection with the late insurrection was already known, and it was hoped to wring from him information incriminating the Royalists of Lancashire and Cheshire. His friends had been considerably 'startled' by his arrest, but his 'worthy' behaviour under examination soon set their fears for themselves at rest.[1] His attitude towards his interrogators was neither defiant nor cringing, and while he answered the questions put to him with apparent ingenuousness, he skilfully avoided imparting any real information or implicating any one within reach of the Government. He owned that he had collected money for the King previous to the rising of the spring, and when pressed for the names of contributors, declared that he had received all through Lord Molyneux, lately dead. His present errand, he stated, was again to collect money, 'but he had not been able to procure any,' and when questioned as to the persons in whom the King confided, he named Lorne, whom he knew to have forfeited Charles's trust. In like manner he indicated the Duke of Brandenburg as the King's main hope abroad, being aware that his thoughts were all centred on Spain, and finally he owned to the possession of a letter from Rochester, and of two others destined for Davison and Shirley respectively, but denied all knowledge of the whereabouts of the first, and declared that the second had refused to receive the communication.[2]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 12; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 90; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 300.

[2] *Thurloe State Papers*, iv. p. 245; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 41.

Effectually baffled, the Protector ordered Halsall's removal while he tried to make something of Talbot, but in this he succeeded no better, for the 'tall young Irishman' proved equally inaccessible to threats or cajolery.

In vain the Protector 'offered him great preferments, claymed kindred to the house of Shrewsbury, and promised secrecy.' Talbot denied any acquaintance with Halsall and all knowledge of plots against the Government. Then, thinking perhaps to startle him into confession, Cromwell demanded abruptly why he had sought the life of a man who had never harmed him, a question conceived to be infinitely humourous by Talbot and his brothers.

'Nothing made me laugh more than that Cromwell should aske my brother why he should thinke of killinge him . . . seeing he had never prejudiced him in his life,' wrote Peter, 'as if to murder the King and the nobility and the gentry of three nations were nothing.'

But, at the moment, Dick Talbot was in no laughing mood, and he merely repeated his denial of any connection with the plot, defying the Protector to find his name in the captured cipher. By good fortune it was not there, but Cromwell affirmed that he had 'exact intelligence' of all that passed at Cologne, and possessed besides infallible proof of Talbot's guilt in the full confession of Halsall. Talbot had 'a better opinion of the man' than to credit this statement, and demanded to be confronted with his fellow-prisoner. On that the Protector actually ordered Halsall to be brought from the next room; but, perceiving that Talbot remained unmoved, he changed his mind, recalled Thurloe at the very door, and, turning on his prisoner, poured forth threats of torture, vowing that he would 'spin it out of his bones.'

Talbot retorted 'that he might spin him to a thread if he pleased'; having nothing to confess, he could but invent lies. Still cheerfully defiant, he was led back to his prison, where he was visited first by Lambert and

then by Thurloe, who endeavoured to win his confession by 'lardge promises' and 'great offers of money.' Talbot replied stoutly to both that he desired no more than his own £240, of which he had been robbed by the soldiers, who doubtless 'mistook them for papers.' Restitution of £20 was actually made, but it was decided to transfer the obdurate prisoner from Whitehall to the Tower, and Talbot therefore 'thought it time' to effect his escape.

'That night he bestowed much wine upon Cromwell's servants, who waited on him and served him like a prince, slipped down to the Thames by a cord, where he had a boat prepared, and in that little thing was ten days at sea; landed at last at Callis, still nayled and shut up between some boards of the boate.'

The means by which the boat was procured are not stated, but it may have been done through the agency of the Levellers, for Sexby had promised to rescue the conspirators 'if they were in the soldiers' hands,' and had bidden his friends at home spare no expense in their behalf.[1]

Whether by his aid or no, Dick Talbot appeared in Brussels before the end of December 1655, full of anxiety for his friends. His first idea was to publish a declaration of his own and their innocence of any plot against the Protector, but consideration decided him that they would be best served by silence, and accordingly he wrote to Ormonde:—'As for Robin Dongan and the rest that are prisoners thears no danger if they themselves do not by theyr own confessions destroy one another. For when I came away he (Cromwell) had no other ground to proceed upon than bare suspitions and consequently, for the safety of theyr lives, it's necessary that nothing be said of it.'[2] 1655 December

His anxiety was naturally greatest for his nephew, Dongan, for whom he and his brother Peter professed 1656 January

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 6, 8, 10, 12, 17.
[2] *Ibid.*, li. ff. 6, 10.

themselves 'mighty sorry.' But in January Dongan also was rescued by Lady Isabella Thynne, and on the 30th of that month he landed at Dunkirk in the company of a French gentleman, attached to the Prince de Condé, whom Lady Isabella had persuaded to be his escort.[1]

Sanguine hopes that Halsall might find the same good fortune were unfulfilled, and he remained long a prisoner in the Tower, suffering much from the ill-health induced by confinement, and from the privations consequent on his inability to provide for his own maintenance, as was customary with prisoners of gentle birth. In January 1656 the compassion of a keeper's wife, 'admitted to make his bed,' provided him with a lead pencil and some paper, and enabled him to open communication with his fellow-prisoner, Rumbold. As one of those political prisoners detained as a mere precautionary measure, Rumbold was permitted 'the liberty of the Tower,' and by his means Halsall despatched a faintly pencilled letter to Ormonde.

'I am threatened with all manner of torture,' he wrote, 'but be confident that no misery shall make me do a base action or prejudice any one. . . . I am now a close prisoner in the Tower, in a prison lodging, noe person suffered to see or speake to mee, half-starved with theyr allowance. I really thincke they intende to put me to death. I hope God will prepare me for it, while I live I shall pray for you. . . . God of Heaven bless the King!'[2]

Strangely enough, for his share in Ascham's murder must have been known,[3] Halsall was not put to death, but, though the threat of torture proved a mere threat, his sufferings were really acute. Denied fire and candle in the depth of winter, ill-fed, confined in one room, threatened at last with the loss of his bed since he could not pay rent for it, it was no wonder that he became

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 8; 17; *Carte MSS.*, cxxxi. fol. 181; ccxiii. ff. 33; 50.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 33, January 6-16, 1656.
[3] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 306.

'something sickly with this usage.'[1] And added to these physical distresses was the mental trouble endured on behalf of his comrades, especially on behalf of Prescott, for whom he seems to have felt himself responsible.

'Lett H(enry) P(rescott) know how much I am concerned for him,' he wrote in January 1656, 'really it doth trouble me, and makes me sometymes that I cannot sleepe when I thinke of him. I am glad he is so harty, I hope well of him. . . . My harty love to poor H. P.'[2]

Some satisfaction he doubtless derived from the knowledge that he was not forgotten by his own party. Lady Ormonde sent to inquire after him twice in one week. In May 1656 an emissary came from Cologne purposely to ascertain his condition. The accounts presented by Rumbold to the King in August of the same year contain the item, '£10 to Mr. Halsall, whose necessities are urgent,' and in July 1657 Hyde bade Rumbold 'assure poor Halsey that his friends here are as kind to him as he can wish.'[3] 1656

But the prisoner's chief solace was the unfailing devotion of a sister, whose ability to serve him by no means equalled her brave spirit and ready self-sacrifice. On receiving news of his arrest she had hastened from Lancashire to London, and though disappointed in her hope of obtaining leave to visit him, she yet found means to alleviate his lot with little gifts and cheery letters. Thanks, perhaps, to her ministrations, he survived three years of wretchedness, and ultimately regained his liberty after Cromwell's death, when the restored Long Parliament declared frankly that it had 'nothing to say to any person whatsoever, for endeavouring the destruction of the late tyrant.'[4]

Since Halsall was unable to inform his friends of January

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 479, 569, 579. [2] *Ibid.*, iv. pp 474, 637.
[3] *Ibid.*, iv. p. 720; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 152, 339.
[4] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 622, 720, 763; vii. p. 605; *Clar. MSS.*, lxv. fol. 4; lxvi. fol. 22.

Masten's treachery before the end of January 1656, the interval afforded ample time for speculation, and the onus of the catastrophe was variously apportioned. Some attributed it to the 'too lavish discourse' of Dongan, who was accused of having published his errand to all and sundry before his departure for England, but this he strenuously denied. 'I hear that Mr. O'Neil reports and tells everybody that I told everybody my business into England before I went, which is the greatest untruth that ever was,' he wrote indignantly to Ormonde. '. . . For I protest I never spoke of it, either here or there, except to Halsey, who spoke of it to me before ever I spoke to him.'[1]

'A strange report' that Dick Talbot had betrayed his accomplices troubled his nephew no less than the accusation of himself, and concerning this he again wrote to Ormonde:

'I am very much out of countenance to let your Lordship understand a thing which my duty commands me to, which is more to me than all the friends in the world. The thing I mean is that there was strange reports of my oncol, concerning his betraying of Halsey and myself. For this business I could find no ground at all but reports, which I thought it my duty to let your Lordship understand, and as for my part, I will neither accuse him nor justify him because I cannot do it by proofs either ways, which, if I could, I would not troubel your Lordship with giving you this relation, but would take a course with him myself. My Lady Isabella bids me tell you she thought him innocent now, since Manning was put to death.'[2]

Dick Talbot asseverated his innocence with much violence, receiving the Holy Communion in proof of it, and his brother Peter referred the origin of the calumny to certain intrigues of another brother, Gilbert. 'I am apt to believe,' he wrote, 'that Gilbert's business

[1] *Carte MSS.*, cxxxi. ff. 175, 181; ccxiii. ff. 33, 48, 50.
[2] *Ibid.*, ccxiii. fol. 35.

hath given some occasion to this blemish of his brother, who came last night to me from Brussels, and is mad, swears and damns himself, wondering how people can so much as admit any such thoughts against him.'[1]

The 'business' in question was an attempt to beguile Thurloe into a correspondence, with a view to the King's service, and, incidentally, to draw funds from the enemy on pretence of furnishing important intelligence. Such, at least, Gilbert alleged to be his purpose, and he asserted his own integrity in language as forcible as that of his brother Dick.

'Moreover I wish that I may, at this instant, sincke into Hell fire if it was not purely my intention to serve his Majesty when this was first motioned, and to deceive Cromwell. 'Tis too late for me now to thinke of any base thought after serving his Majesty twelve years with the loss of my blood often, and friends. . . . I desire nothing of his Majesty, for our enemie will maintain me for his Majesty's service!'[2]

Quite probably this was the truth, but Thurloe was not so easily deceived, and declined to pay for intelligence so inadequate as that furnished by Gilbert.[3] His obvious distrust was confirmed by Sexby, who heard from England that Gilbert was 'not much credited, since his brother's escape,' and the Jesuit, Peter, adduced this as evidence for the innocence of both his brothers. 'Truly I think Gilbert would have more credit with his correspondent than he hath, if Dick were a knave,' he protested, adding, in reference to Sexby's testimony: 'For my brother Dick's business I am convinced in my understanding that he is innocent. . . . Besydes this Dick hath received the Blessed Sacrament in confirmation of his innocency. Truly, all circumstances and obligations, both of honor and conscience considered, it is not only improbable but morally impossible that he should not only betray his King, but, in his Majesty, all

[1] *Carte MSS.*, xxx. fol. 396; ccxiii. fol. 50.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 226.
[3] *Ibid.*, l. fol. 248.

his own kindred, friends, and country, for a little sum of money which he must never enjoy or show, unless he be resolved to be deemed of all the most perfidious and infamous rogue.'[1]

But doubtless the Talbots' best argument was the newly discovered treachery of Manning, which had already gone far to vindicate Dick in the eyes of many besides Lady Isabella.[2]

Henry Manning, whose career came to an abrupt and tragic close in December 1655, was 'a proper young gentleman' of a good Roman Catholic family. He had been educated in the household of the Marquis of Worcester, had fought in the Civil War on the King's side, and had been severely wounded at the battle of Alresford. His father and elder brother had both perished in the royal cause, and at the close of the war Henry, the survivor, compounded for the family estates. He remained in England for several years, but in 1654, according to his own account, he became involved in difficulties due to debts contracted by his father. This decided him to realise his property, 'upon which he had enough to maintain him, and resolved to spend it in waiting upon the King, until his Majesty should be able to raise an army in which he hoped to have an opportunity
1654 to revenge his father's blood.'[3] To Cologne he came in the late autumn of 1654, bearing a letter of introduction to Dr. Earles, from an uncle, well-known to that divine. This, with his family record, his own past services, and a 'countenance' indicative of 'great candour and integrity,' easily secured him a welcome, and 'there were divers at Court who gave a very good report of him.' As he was 'a handsome man, had good store of clothes, and plenty of money,' he experienced no difficulty in attaching himself to the 'good fellows,' of whom Rochester, Taafe, and

[1] *Carte MSS.*, xxx. fol. 396; ccxiii. fol. 50. [2] *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 70.
[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 19; *Calendar Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 77; *Clarendon, History*, xiv. p. 138; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. Preface, p. vii. note (a), p. 150; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 249, 314.

Wentworth were the chief. These three were wont to dine together, 'where every one had a pot of wine set by his trencher as the usual allowance, and Manning was ere long admitted to their table.[1] There he dexterously turned the discourse to the state of the Royalists at home, implying that he possessed much influence with them, and flattering Rochester's weakness with assurances 'that all the King's party looked on him as the general who must govern and command them.' Seeing that he had secured attention, he next stated that he was charged with a message to the King concerning the condition of Plymouth, and the readiness of the gentry thereabouts to rise in the royal cause, adding that he knew where 'good sums of money' might be had, for the mounting and arming of two hundred men who were already enlisted. In confirmation of this he produced from his pocket a paper sealed with the Earl of Pembroke's seal, which contained a statement that Pembroke had at Wilton forty horses and five hundred suits of armour, and at Salisbury five thousand pounds, all of which he would suffer to be seized in the King's service directly a Royalist movement occurred in the west. Rochester, though 'ravished with this discourse,' inquired, very naturally, why it had not been addressed to the Chancellor. Manning answered that his attempts to broach the subject in that quarter had always been met with indifference and reserve, and as these were the common complaints of Hyde, Rochester was easily convinced of their truth. Accordingly he conducted his friend to the King, to whom the story was repeated, and the token alleged to have been sent by Pembroke duly delivered. Manning had already ingratiated himself with Charles by the daily loan of the papers which he received from England. Moreover, there seemed no reason to doubt his word, and his communication was favourably received.[2] Considerably en-

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 191; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 314.

[2] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. 138; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 149; *Calendar Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 80, Art. 219.

couraged, Rochester led him next to the Chancellor, whom he 'gently reproached' for his previous discourtesy to the young man. As Hyde had received two previous visits from Manning, and had, on both occasions, shown his guest all the kindness and civility natural from one who had known and esteemed his father, this preamble rather surprised him, and the unfolding of Manning's tale at once imbued him with distrust. He knew Pembroke too well to credit either his ability or inclination to furnish the supplies described, and was himself in constant correspondence with a confidant of the Earl, from whom he had received no hint of any such thing. He therefore assured the King that the story was a mere fabrication, invented by Manning 'to make himself the more welcome,' and though neither King nor Chancellor suspected treachery, both treated the young man thenceforth with a cold civility.[1]

1655 March

Manning asserted later that it was this systematic neglect that drove him into relations with the English Government,[2] but however that may have been, he does not seem to have begun his treacherous correspondence until the rising of 1655 was actually in progress. When the King left Cologne he started in pursuit, reached Zeeland at the same time, and in his first letter to Thurloe, dated March 13, 1655, N. S., gave information of Charles's hiding-place at Middleburg. In the same letter he stated that he had previously addressed himself to the Protector and to the President of the Council, but now, having learned that Thurloe was at the head of the intelligence department, desired to establish a regular correspondence with him. The question of remuneration he referred to Thurloe himself. 'And I cannot believe that His Highness will have any serves him a loser,' he protested, adding a request for immediate supplies 'to defray the charges of carrying on so great a work.'[3] His next three or four letters contained reiterated demands

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. p. 140. [2] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 150.
[3] *Thurloe Papers*, iii. p. 190.

for money, and for a cipher, without which he could not impart very important information.

On April 5 he wrote from Middleburg, giving the names of various Royalists who had played an active part in the western insurrection, and concluding with the usual declaration, 'Sir, I must be here at great expense to keep in with the grandees, otherwise I shall know little worth your knowledge.' On April 13 he reiterated his complaint, and demanded 'something considerable' in return for his news, 'being of the vast expenses I have been at, and must continue it to do you good service.' And as an earnest of his intentions he appended a long list of 'the principal envoys and agents to draw the nation into combustion,' with their whereabouts and different disguises. Another letter, dated on the day following, contained certain addresses to which letters for the Royalists in London were commonly sent, and Thurloe, convinced at last that his correspondent was both capable and trustworthy, agreed to pay him a regular salary of a hundred pounds a month in return for his weekly letters.[1] 1655 April

Thenceforth Manning corresponded faithfully and frequently with the English Secretary of State, concealing his real name under pseudonyms such as Henry Manwaring, Henry Jackson, and Isaac Gibbes. The friendship and confidence that he had gained among his fellow-exiles made him a singularly useful instrument, and all that could be gathered by his quick wit from the indiscretions of his associates was duly transmitted to England. From him the Government learned the names of those in whom the King chiefly hoped, the part played by many who had not openly appeared in the late rising, with other important details, and the wholesale arrests of June and July were prompted by him. May

From him, too, came warnings of Halsall's assassination plot, of the continual passage of Royalist emissaries to and from the Continent, and of the connivance of the port officials at Dover and elsewhere.[2] The intrigues of June-July

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, iii. p. 301 ; iv. pp. 290, 293, 348. [2] See p. 73.

the King with Spain and Rome, his personal movements and the trivial gossip of the Court were all impartially recorded, and even specimens of handwriting were offered to the Government.

'If so be you know not Hyde's or Ormonde's or any of their writing send me word, and you shall have some of their letters, if of any use to you,' promised the spy. And again: 'If you would have any letters under any's hand here let me know it.'[1]

Subsequently Manning denied that he had actually sent over any such letters, and he may possibly have deceived his employers in that matter as he occasionally did in others. He was indeed too much of an artist to confine himself to facts, and what he lacked in knowledge he readily supplied by imagination. If news of a plot failed it was easy to invent one, and his letters were adorned with detailed reports of conversations, and even of discussions at the Council Table, which had never taken place. He implied also an intimacy with the King which he was very far from enjoying, but these flights of fancy notwithstanding, his information was in the main well founded, and of enormous value to the English Government.[2] He appears at first to have felt some scruples and qualified his treachery with pleas for mercy. 'I am confident by clemency His Highness may gaine more friends than by force, or rigour of justice.' But as time went on he seems to have grown hardened to his trade and pressed the arrest of those he named with some urgency. 'Having seen the wickedness of those here I resign myself wholly to you,' he protested.[3]

All the time he spared no pains to ingratiate himself with those whom he betrayed. His genial manner and pleasant conversation won him the general confidence; he endeavoured to rehabilitate himself with the

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 10; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 158, 175, 177.

[2] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 314; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 178.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, iii. p. 358; *Domestic State Papers*, R. O., Interreg., xcvii. fol. 109; xcviii. fol. 43.

Chancellor by a diligent attendance at public prayers, and he obliterated his first false step from the mind of the King by furnishing him and his brother with small sums of money. 'Thinke me not, I pray, extra urgent in sending to you for money,' he pleaded with Thurloe. 'For to serve you well I must be in a condition now and then to pleasure Charles Stuart, and nothing would be more easy to you and pleasing to him than to give oft little recruits to the Duke of Gloucester. Daily favours are most significant.'[1]

His tactics met with perfect success, and he continued his course, quite unsuspected, until the end of November 1655.[2]

1655 November

The first hint of Manning's treachery came from Norwich, who was supposed to have received it from Alonso de Cardenas, the late Spanish Ambassador in London. The Spaniard had more than once asserted that 'he knew his Majesty's greatest secrets were revealed,' and Condé's agents had hinted the same thing, but at first Norwich gave 'small credit' to such reports. When, however, Cardenas returned from England early in November, willing and eager to injure the Protector, he seems to have found means to convince Norwich of the truth of his statements.[3] Before the end of that month Hyde received warning that letters came constantly for Manning to Antwerp, and that a merchant in the same place constantly supplied him with 'good sums of money.' Suspicion was aroused, and 'a trusty person,' most probably that 'dexterous, faythfull, vigilant servant, Jamott,' was despatched to Antwerp to intercept the letters. This was successfully accomplished, and Jamott bore back to Cologne large packets of letters to and from Manning, 'which being opened and read administered matter of great amazement.'[4]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 81.

[2] *Domestic State Papers*, Interreg., cii. fol. 13.

[3] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 300; iii. pp. 208, 262; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 211; *Thurloe*, iv. p. 371.

[4] *Clarendon*, *History*, xiv. p. 142; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 203.

Among these letters was one from Thurloe, expressing satisfaction with the news received, and giving directions for future proceedings. Manning, on his side, acknowledged the receipt of money, and promised to dispose of further supplies, 'so as to know the privatest things,' and presented, in the meantime, a curious medley of fact and fiction. This included an account of certain Presbyterian intrigues with the Queen, of the King's relations with Denmark and with the Papal Nuncio at Cologne, the names of the King's agents in France, the proceedings of Halsall, and the infidelity of the English port officials, Day, Foster, and Singleton.[1]

1655 December

The proof sufficed, order was given for Manning's arrest, and on the night of Sunday, December 5, he was surprised in the act of writing to Thurloe. His attempt to tear up the document on which he was engaged was frustrated, he was secured with all his papers, and confided to the custody of four of his fellow-courtiers.[2] The next two days were passed by the King's Council in examination of the captured papers, which, being deciphered, served to confirm the evidence of those seized at Antwerp. Thurloe's letters were full of commendation of his agent's diligence and of exhortation to further effort.

'I pray be industrious to find the bottom of the last design, both as to persons and things, and also what they are further doing. You shall not fail of bills nor to find help as good as my word. I say again, endeavour to discover persons, and write me what the grounds are that make you believe that those whom you have mentioned or shall mention were engaged. You will by this service, if done effectually, merit very much and make to yourself and posterity a great fortune, and so much I do promise you.'

Manning's own letters, of which there were several prepared for future postage, contained the usual kind of

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 165, 166.

[2] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 249, 286, 290, 313; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 19.

information about Royalists at home and abroad, with damning allusions to intelligence previously given.

'I am sure I have omitted very few of their agents or envoys.' 'They endeavour the Protector's murder, the actors, most of them, I have often named.'[1]

There were also hints of the collusion of Lambert and Ludlow, and, most curious of all, an account of a plot to surprise Plymouth, engineered by Halsall, James Hyde, and Captain Skelton, and 'discussed at the Council of the 11th of November last, and pressed by Lord Rochester to be put into execution.' At this, says Hyde, 'everybody was exceedingly amazed. . . . There had never such a proposition been made, nor was there any such debate or discourse.'[2]

Oddly enough, it was this mixture of fancy with fact that most aroused the Chancellor's ire,[3] and on December 7 he poured out his indignation to Norwich.

'And now let me tell you that all things were done here according to your wish, on the arrival of the letters in cypher. And the fellow, as well by his own confession as his letters, appears the most cursed villayne that ever you heard of. We have not only those letters he sent away, but those which he prepared for this day, and I do not now wonder that we of the Councell suffer so much for discovering the secrets of business, for he hath written —which, I suppose, hath been his practice—formall discourses at the Councell table, asigninge the day of the transactions and what such and such men said, of which relation, if I had been in England and seen the account, I should have believed the King the most betrayed, and that it had bene impossible to have feigned such discourses. Whereas, in truth, there have neither been councells those days, nor hath ever matter of that nature

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 163, 175, 177.

[2] *Clarendon*, *History*, xiv. p. 144.

[3] The late Mr. S. R. Gardiner was inclined to give more credit to Manning's statement than to Hyde's denial, but there could have been no motive for a denial made so many years later, and the seizure of Plymouth was Manning's favourite romance, see p. 141.

been debated, or the least discourse to that purpose. But then again there are other particulars true enough, which he hath picked up among persons with whom he hath conversed who, believing him to be honest, have spoken more to him than reasonable, by which it appears very many good men suffer at this present. In a word, it is not possible for you to believe more villainy to be in any man, or that such a fellow could do so much mischiefe as it is visible he hath done. He is in safe custody, and I hope will be kept so.'[1]

The element of romance in Manning's compositions could not mitigate the enormity of his crime, and on December 8 Nicholas and Culpepper examined him formally by the King's command. His defence was not unlike that of Gilbert Talbot. Never, he declared, had he intended to injure the royal cause, never had his heart 'run astray' from the resolution of dying for the King like his father before him.[2] His journey to Zeeland had been prompted solely by a desire to share in the English rising, and only want of money had deterred him from crossing over. This disappointment had inspired him with the idea of drawing money for the King's service from the King's enemies, nor had he been ungenerous with the fruits of his industry.

'What I have had, and of my own also, I have not been backward to assist therewith all such of my acquaintance as wanted.'

As to the intelligence sold by him, it had consisted only of 'Kemeroes' or of unimportant details 'which only concerned the Princess Royal's journeys hither, and some little things of ye Duke's sports, insignificant, from Mr. Griffith. Whatever I stuffed my letters with were only fancies of my own . . . which I made as much use of as I could contrive . . . to induce him to procure me a

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 211. This letter, written at the time to a member of the Council, agrees with the account given by Hyde in his *History*, xiv. 143, and seems to indicate that the copy of Manning's letter (*Nicholas*, iii. p. 177) is not complete.

[2] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 157.

considerable sum of money. . . . And I take God to witness I had no other end in the whole transactions and never (intended) to alien my thoughts from his Majesty's service.'

Further pressed, he owned that he had sometimes confirmed the suspicions of the Protector when questioned about particular persons, as in the cases of Halsall and of the Marquis of Hertford, but he protested that he had never named any one not already suspected, or denounced any person previous to his arrest.

'I do not know of any one person yt ever was apprehended by my letters into England.'

He admitted to having inserted 'some little particulars of some people's sayings . . . and of ye coming and going of some people,' but maintained that most of the Royalist agents described by him were creatures of his imagination.

'Whereas there were no such men in truth, but only names invented by this examinant to amuse those in England and make them believe he was industrious.'

Finally, he declared that he had intended the correspondence to cease as soon as he had amassed a certain sum which he hoped would have been received for the letters now seized. 'And I was ye rather larger in stuffing them up, being I intended them to be ye last I ever would write.'[1]

Manning's own letters to Thurloe[2] conclusively give the lie to this elaborate defence, and if further proof of his treachery were needed, it is to be found in the words of Cromwell himself. 'We are able to make it appear that persons who carried themselves the most demurely and fairly of any men in England were engaged in this business,'[3] declared the Protector some time later, 'and he that gave us our intelligence lost his

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 149-187.

[2] *Thurloe State Papers*, iii. and iv. *passim*; *Cal. Dom. State Papers*, 1655 *passim*.

[3] *i.e.* the Royalist Rising, 1655.

life for it in Neuburg County. I think I may now speak of that because he is dead, but he did discover from time to time a full intelligence of these things.'[1]

The outraged Royalists needed not to await Cromwell's confirmation of the traitor's guilt. The evidence in the hands of the King's Council had established it beyond a doubt, and, pending the decision of his fate, the magistrates of Cologne sanctioned his confinement in the city gaol.[2]

Some of the exiles thought that he might make reparation by betraying his employers:

'We were in great attention on their letters from Cologne that the spy would have contributed something to the expiation of his fault by discovery of the ways and persons used in that false trade,' observed Jane.

And John Adams suffered a momentary qualm that this had actually been done at his expense, when a party of Cavaliers burst 'rudely' into his room with 'the joyful news' of Manning's arrest. His fears were groundless. Manning was willing enough to reveal anything he knew, even to arrange means for Nicholas to correspond with Thurloe in his name, had it been desired, but he had confessed nothing concerning Adams for the very good reason that he knew nothing to confess. In fact, he possessed no intelligence sufficiently valuable to redeem his life, and the general feeling was in favour of stern justice.[3]

'Every man of his party cries out to have him presently executed,' reported Adams. 'More moderate men thinke the magistrates of Cologne will not pass sentence upon him. Nevertheless, I do not thinke he can escape alive out of their hands, for if C. S. do desire his Council may adjudge him in the dominions of the Duke of

[1] Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Cromwell*, Speech v.

[2] *Thurloe*, iv. pp. 269, 314.

[3] *Thurloe*, iv. pp. 290, 293; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 156, 192, 198, 206.

Neuburg, he will not deny it. There is no means to save him, unless the Protector please to own him and fear them with threats of executing some of their complices, which are now secured in England for the last plot, if they put him to death.'[1]

On the same day George Lane wrote from Antwerp, urging the speedy execution of justice, lest Cromwell should hinder it by some such action as Adams proposed.[2] But it is the inevitable fate of spies to be abandoned when discovery has rendered them useless, and in any case the intervention of the English Government would have come too late. Manning, aware of his perilous position, addressed abject appeals for mercy to Nicholas, repeating his assertions of loyalty, renewing his offer to correspond with Thurloe as the tool of the King, and promising, if life were granted, to end his days in a convent, 'whereby I may have ye comfort to live to repent my most wicked actions, and by my prayers to expiate this too heinous crime.' And he added a request for the company of a Jesuit father, 'for ye better comfort of my distressed soul.'

Nicholas, it appears, made some appeal to the King, but without success, and on December 14 the prisoner wrote again for the last time.

'Having sad rumours of a sudden end intended me, nay, to-morrow morning, I, from the bottom of a Christian's heart and a dying man, humbly crave you would once more try his most gratious Majesty. . . . Sir, I pray be charitable herein, and, though it be late, speak with his Majesty this night. . . . And if so be my crimes cannot have or find pardon, I humbly offer, in view of my father's death and the sad condition of my ruined mother and family, I may be thought on with that mercy as to permit me to lead my days in some cloister or dungeon.'[3]

[1] *Thurloe*, iv. pp. 290-291, December 17, 1655.
[2] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 211, December 17, 1655.
[3] *Ibid.*, iii. pp. 196-202.

The prayer was vain. Charles was not, as had been freely admitted, either vindictive or bloodthirsty, but the moment was not one for mercy. The King and his adherents, smarting still from recent disaster, taunted on all sides with the constant revelation of their plots, enraged by the betrayal of their friends, were resolved to make Manning's fate a warning to all who might be tempted to imitate his career. The only petition granted him was that for the company of a priest to prepare his soul for death, and on Wednesday, December 15, Nicholas Armorer and James Hamilton ended the sordid tragedy by shooting the unfortunate spy in a wood belonging to the Count of Neuburg, some two hours' journey from Cologne.[1]

The deed was unanimously approved by the Royalist party. 'I am verie glad to hear that Manning has had his deserved end. I wish all his fellow-villains were with him,' wrote Elizabeth of Bohemia to her nephew.

And she added that the Elector of Mainz and other Princes 'would take it verie well' if a formal explanation of the proceedings was presented to them.

Her sentiments were echoed by Thomas Ross.

'I am glad Manning has received his reward. I hope all of his stamp will have the like.'[2]

The apprehension of Manning's 'companions' was very strongly felt at Cologne, and his fellow-lodger, Colonel Richard Highmore, William Morgan, the two Griffiths and other of his associates, were all subjected to searching examination.[3] Nothing transpired to the discredit of any of them beyond the fact that John Griffiths had occasionally addressed letters for Manning, but without knowing, as the spy confessed, their contents or their real destination.[4] As there can be little doubt that Manning would have betrayed any accomplice to save

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 718; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 19.

[2] *Thurloe Papers*, i. p. 672; *Domestic State Papers*, Interreg., cii. ff. 13, 76. [3] *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxlii. fol. 177; *Nicholas*, iii. p. 150.

[4] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 198.

his own life, his testimony to Griffiths' innocence may be considered conclusive, yet, so great was the agitation at Court, that both he and his kinsman were banished thence 'on evidence that they were very intimate with Manning, . . . and were observed to be very private with him on post days.'[1]

Suspicion fell likewise on Manning's uncle by marriage, Dr. George Jay, then resident at Brussels. But when Jamott arrived at Brussels, charged to obtain his arrest and the seizure of his papers, he found the doctor so 'very much afflicted for the treachery of his nephew' that he forbore to meddle with him.[2]

As time wore on it became evident that the Royalist secrets were not much better kept than they had been formerly, and many were inclined to agree 'that the great spy was not discovered yet,' by which, observed Jane, 'every one will intend him whom they (*sic*) love not.'[3] This was precisely what came to pass, and during the next few years many persons were suspected, justly and unjustly. But, though suspicion was often misdirected, there was good reason for its existence. The death of Manning did not deter others from practising his trade, and the English Government had no lack of agents at home and abroad. Through the medium of Sir John Henderson, Peter Massonett furnished Thurloe with copies of the papers intrusted to him as Clerk of the King's Closet, receiving in return 'an honourable maintenance.'[4] Colonel Placketer and James Borthwicke continued to submit to Monk's inspection the despatches carried by them between Scotland and Cologne.[5] And when the King moved to Flanders in

[1] *Holland Papers*, R. O., Nicholas to Jane, December 25 - January 4, 1655-6.

[2] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 203, 208, 209.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii. pp. 224, 228, 246.

[4] *Calendar Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 13, 15, 29; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 277.

[5] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 105, 221, 223, 224, 250, 741, 769, 770; v. p. 84.

1656 he found himself surrounded by a whole army of spies. Chief among these were Thomas Death and Michael Deane, who corresponded with Thurloe under the respective names of Christopher Allin and Blank Marshall. The first conducted his correspondence from the safe haven of Flushing or Sluys, but the second was bold enough to venture within the precincts of the Court at Bruges, whence he sent detailed accounts of all occurrences to England.[1] Among the numerous minor spies who plied their trade in a more intermittent fashion were a certain Ogle, Sir John Cochrane, Ormonde's cousin, Sir Robert Walsh, the quondam friend of Rupert, and Thomas
1655 Howard, the Princess Mary's Master of the Horse.[2] Nor was the agency of women wholly confined to the Royalist cause, for in 1655 a certain Diana Gennings gained information for the Protector by imposing herself on the generosity of Norwich and Phelipps as the disconsolate widow of one of the Stanleys of Derby.[3] From France Joseph Bampfylde, though he frequently imitated Manning's plan of concocting romances for Thurloe's benefit was sometimes enabled to send authentic intelligence by the persistent credulity of Jermyn and Balcarres. There, too, Robin Rookwood 'played the devil,' and betrayed all who confided in him.[4]

1656 But, worst and most dangerous of all, was the treachery of Richard Willys, who, as a member of the Sealed Knot, was able to keep the Protector accurately informed of the most secret counsels of the Royalists.[5] His letters to Thurloe begin in August 1656, and from that time onward the successful frustration of all Royalist schemes may be laid primarily to his charge, though he was suf-

[1] For their letters see *Thurloe Papers*, vols. iv. v. vi. vii. and *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii.

[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 159, 166, 167, 168, 170, 240, 366, 368; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 574; v. pp. 315, 339, 683.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, i. p. 748; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 290, 299, 300, 339.

[4] See *Cal. Domestic State Papers*, 1655-1660; *Nicholas Papers*, vol. iii.; *Thurloe Papers*, vols. v. vi. vii.

[5] *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 242.

ficiently scrupulous to exact from the Protector a promise that no one should suffer death through his agency. Eventually he was himself betrayed by Thurloe's 1659
secretary, Samuel Morland, but prudently disobeyed the King's subsequent summons to Flanders.[1] Possibly his prudence averted a repetition of the tragedy of Cologne, yet, though many of the Government spies became known sooner or later for what they were, none suffered as Manning had done. Though Howard's machinations were well known he was left unmolested as comparatively harmless, but Walsh and Ogle were both imprisoned by the Spanish authorities, and Death only avoided a like penalty by his care to keep beyond the reach of the King.[2] Bampfylde and Rookwood went free, probably for the same reason. Borthwicke and Placketer, both suspected, managed to transfer the onus of their crimes to the innocent William Borthwicke, who was first banished from Court and ultimately imprisoned.[3] Deane evaded an imminent risk of discovery by the prompt destruction of his cipher.

'I thank God all is well, for I am welcome wherever I go,' he assured Thurloe in September 1656.

But later on Hyde wrote of him with contempt and evident knowledge as 'a little, black Scotchman' who knew no more of the King's affairs than he did of the Emperor of China's.[4] Massonett seems to have escaped detection altogether, for as late as July 1659 Hyde expressed belief in his honesty, though he would not trust him to engross Lord Mordaunt's patent of nobility.[5]

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. 33; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxi. ff. 296, 270*a*; lxii. f. 163; lxiii. f. 105.

[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 166, 193, 315, 366.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 444, 741; v. pp. 84, 301, 315, 363, 486, 575; *Cal. Domestic State Papers*, Interreg., cxxxi. 69; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 165, 286, 291.

[4] *Thurloe Papers*, v. p. 335; *Clarendon MSS.*, October 24, 1659, Hyde to Gibbs.

[5] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxi. fol. 242; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., July 12-22, 1659.

Others in the company of traitors proved as fortunate, and Thurloe's threat was not altogether an empty one when he declared at the Restoration 'that if he were hanged, he had a black book which should hang half of them that went for Cavaliers.'[1]

[1] *History MSS. Com.*, Report 5, p. 208.

CHAPTER VI

The New Pope—Negotiations at Rome—Embarrassments of the Empire—Hopes from Spain—Overtures of Count Philip of Neuburg—Sexby-Levellers and Royalists—Levellers and Spain—Norwich—Richard Overton—Proposals to the King—Breach between England and Spain—Difficulties of Spain—Advantages of Charles's Alliance—Instructions to De Vic—Discontent of De Vic—Negotiations in Flanders—Sympathy of the Flemings—Coldness of the Spaniards—Disadvantages of Charles's Alliance—Poverty of the Royalists—Miserable Condition of Spain—Charles urged to come incognito to Brussels—Proposed Conversion of Charles—Ormonde's Mission to Brussels—Hannibal Seestadt—Proposal to send an Envoy to Madrid—New Instructions to De Vic—Expected Invitation to Flanders—Charles's Departure to Brussels—Interview with the Spanish Ministers—Negotiation at Brussels—Charles at Vilvord—Treaty of Charles and Spain—Charles at Bruges.

DURING the first months of Charles's residence at Cologne the Princes of Europe had 'seemed to contend among themselves who should most eminently forget and neglect him.'[1] One, and one only, displayed a willingness, even an anxiety, to assist him, and it was by advice of that one, Count Philip of Neuburg, that he reopened negotiations with the Papacy early in the year 1655. He had declined an offer to plead his cause with Innocent X. in the previous autumn, for the reason that his overtures to that Pope had never been well received.[2] But on the 7th of January 1655 Innocent 'departed, without being desired,' at least by the exiled Royalists, and the Court of

1655

January

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xv. 1.

[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 52, Article 145.

Rome became again a potential factor in English affairs.[1]
1655 February Henrietta sought to seize this opportunity for the re-establishment of her influence, and she therefore suggested, through Jermyn, that the management of her son's business at Rome should be intrusted to the envoy whom she was about to send thither. This, it was hinted, would at once obviate Charles's difficulties in dealing directly with the Papacy, and pave the way for a better understanding between himself and his mother.[2] But though the chosen envoy, Thomas Talbot, visited Cologne on his way to Rome, he received no instructions from the King. Charles was resolved to trust the matter wholly to the mediation of the Count of Neuburg, and he therefore excused himself to his mother on the plea that he could take no action until the result of the Papal election transpired.

'For the business of Rome I know not what to say till I heare who is Pope, nor indeed till I have heard what good will he is likely to beare to me. You know how ineffectual hitherto all addresses there have been, and if anything should be proposed on my behalf, if it do me no good, it will do me hurt. Wherefore I must be the more wary.'[3]

April 7 Two months later he was rejoiced by the election of Cardinal Fabio Chigi to the Pontificate as Alexander VII. The new Pope, 'a man of the most public heart, the most superior to all private designs that the world had,' was a personal friend of the Count of Neuburg, and had frequently professed to him a warm sympathy for the English exiles. He had lamented the 'murder' of the late King, 'even with tears,' protesting that 'it was a monstrous thing that the two crowns[4] should weary and spend each other's strength and spirits in so unjust and groundless a war when they had so noble an occasion to

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. 120.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 263, February 5, 1655; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 195, February 19, 1655.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 355; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 271; *Thurloe Papers*, iii. pp. 433, 465, 556.

[4] Of France and Spain.

unite all their power to revenge that impious murder, in which the honour and the life of all kings was concerned.' And he had declared it the imperative duty of the Pope to reconcile France and Spain, and to oblige 'all Christian kings and states, without consideration of any difference in religion, to join together for the restoration of the King.'[1]

Now that he himself sat in the Papal chair it was not unreasonable to hope that he would pursue the policy thus recommended to his predecessor, and Neuburg hastened to congratulate Charles on the election, and to renew his former offer of intercession. The Pope's first care, he explained, must be to secure the general peace of Christendom, in which Cromwell was not included, and until this was accomplished, help of a political nature was scarcely to be hoped. 'Yet he could not doubt but that out of the generosity of His Holiness, his Majesty would receive some supply towards his better support, which, for the present, was all that could be expected.'[2]

This time the proffered service was accepted gladly, but the Jesuit father who came to receive instructions at Cologne was found to be far from sanguine as to the result of his mission. And the event justified his doubt, for when he reached Rome in May, armed with a formal statement of Charles's readiness to abrogate the penal laws against Roman Catholics, he found the Pope imbued with a deep distrust of the English King.[3] For this distrust two reasons were assigned, Charles's conclusion of a treaty with the Scottish Covenanters, in 1650, at the very time when he was conducting a former negotiation at Rome, and his recent refusal to permit the conversion of the Duke of Gloucester. 1655 May

'The Pope,' wrote Hyde's Roman correspondent,

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. p. 120.

[2] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. p. 120; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 52.

[3] *Clarendon, History*, xiv. p. 121; *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 357; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 35, 37.

'seemed to dislike that the King of England had diverted the Duke, his brother, from the Catholic religion.'[1]

And observed Langdale:

'They think themselves much cheated . . . in sending Mr. Mennell, the priest, to Rome with many fair promises, and presently after was the treaty at Breda.'[2]

Moreover it appeared to Alexander VII. that, in the existing state of affairs, such help as he could offer would be simply money thrown away, yet, in conclusion, he expressed himself willing to consider the matter, if furnished with a detailed account of the king's condition.[3]

1655 June Charles thereupon sent a categorical answer to all the points in question. The treaty with the Scots had been, he stated, forced upon him by the coldness with which his overtures had been received at Rome. In the case of his brother, affairs had been managed 'with not too much caution and discretion,' and circumstances had again marked out his course of action. Finally his restoration under the Papal auspices would not be difficult. Cromwell was universally unpopular, his trusted officials were unfaithful, and the governor of almost any port could be bribed to surrender his charge to the King. In short the only hindrances to a Royalist triumph were want of quarters for troops, and want of money for their maintenance and transportation to England. If the Pope were disposed to furnish the necessary funds, they should be placed in the hands of persons selected by him as a guarantee for their employment solely in the manner indicated.[4]

To this Alexander VII. replied, even more coldly than before, that he was far too well acquainted with English affairs to believe Cromwell in the precarious condition represented. On the contrary, the Protectorate had never before been so firmly established, and in considera-

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 260.
[2] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 53; see *The King in Exile*, pp. 294-295.
[3] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 37.
[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 79; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 260, 270.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

From the engraving by Vertue in the British Museum after the portrait by Lely

tion of this, and of the Papal poverty, it was impossible to comply with Charles's request. Should a more favourable conjuncture present itself, the Pope would prove generous.[1]

The Papal aloofness was caused, as Peter Talbot alleged, by a reluctance to re-establish the English Church,[2] but in point of fact Balcarres's mission to Cologne had, not unreasonably, renewed the distrust of all Roman Catholics. They saw the events of 1650 re-enacted, and believed the King about to sign a Presbyterian treaty with one hand while he held out the other to Rome. 1655 September

'Some of them allege his Majesty is about an agreement with the Presbyterians, on whose behalf comes my Lord Balcarres with full powers from the Kingdom of Scotland, and my Lord of Rochester from those of England, with the proffer of £200,000, and to engage Sir Thomas Fairfax. The Duke of Gloucester is to marry his daughter,' wrote Langdale to Nicholas. 'These are the Catholiques' jealousies and will infinitely hinder any propositions his Majesty can make at Rome.'

To remedy this it was suggested that Balcarres should personally inform the King's agent at Rome 'that the agitation with his Majesty by the Presbyterians is no way exclusive to the Roman Catholics,' but, as the Roman negotiation was a profound secret, the suggestion was impracticable.[3]

Nicholas could only meet disquieting rumours with flat denials and protestations.

'Nothing (is) left undone to get a right understanding at Rome. . . . Whatsoever you may have been told, I am credibly assured that there is much more application made to the Catholique than to the Presbyterian.'[4] The application was unavailing. On September 30 Hyde declared indignantly to his correspondent, Father Reade, that any future favours shown by the King to his

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 42, Art. 124.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 62.
[3] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 54.
[4] *Ibid.*, iii. p. 64.

Roman Catholic subjects must proceed entirely from his own goodness of heart, since he would owe no gratitude to the Papacy, and in the same month Charles himself wrote to the Count of Neuburg that he had abandoned all hopes of Alexander VII.[1] The Count replied with expressions of deep regret, but begged his friend not to despair altogether. The Pope would doubtless do something when the affairs of Italy left him more free to act. In the meantime Count Philip was willing to press again for a grant of money, to appeal on Charles's behalf to Spain, or to serve him in any way desired, even at the cost of his own life.[2]

This whole-hearted profession of friendship was the more precious to Charles because the events of the year had extinguished even the faint sympathy theretofore felt for him throughout the empire. Since the failure of the English rising he had come to be regarded as 'destined by God to ruin for ever,'[3] and even had it been otherwise, Emperor and Princes were far too much occupied with their own embarrassments to spare time or thought to the exile at Cologne. In August, Charles-Gustavus of Sweden had launched himself into the empire, intent on securing the seaports at the mouth of the Vistula. In September he defeated Jean-Casimir of Poland at Sabota, and, sweeping all victoriously before him, occupied first Warsaw and then Cracow. By the end of December only Danzig yet resisted his conquering[4] arms. This alarming demonstration naturally absorbed the attention of Emperor and Princes. All were occupied with preparations for their own defence,[5] and even Frederick William of Brandenburg, who had assisted Charles with much generosity, was now forced to seek the support of Cromwell against the Swedish encroachments. At the end of October he despatched an envoy to England, and in the following January he concluded

1655 August — September — December — October 1656 January

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 56, 61.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 152.
[3] *Thurloe*, iii. p. 426.
[4] *Gardiner*, iii. pp. 425-447.
[5] *Evelyn*, iv. p. 307.

the treaty of Königsberg with Cromwell's friend and ally, Charles-Gustavus himself.

'The Emperor plays the fox and will do all he can to prevent the Swedes' quiet possession of Poland,' reported a correspondent to Thurloe. 'The King (of Sweden) would fain be Emperor, but the craft will be how he shall accomplish his desire and intention. The King of Poland doth all that he can in the meantime to get forces to regain his country. Fain he would that his nobility would take pity on him. The Pope hath still in his eye the general peace, which is an heart-burning to him that he cannot prevail in the accomplishment thereof. The King of Spain is fierce, and yet trembles within himself for fear of the English fleet. There is only the poor King of Scotland who lies lurking behind the hangings, having no part to act upon the theatre of the world.'[1] 1655 December

Charles was not, however, so entirely without a rôle of his own as his enemies were fain to believe. France had renounced him, the empire was lost to him, but there were indications that Spain would be forced ere long to accept his alliance, and it was certain that the Dutch would adhere to their friendship with Spain even at the cost of their treaty with England. 1655

The Pope's efforts to reconcile France and Spain had failed because neither of the two belligerents was really sincere in the desire for peace.[2] While both professing their readiness to submit to the Papal judgment they continued to seek the alliance of England, each against the other, and the double negotiation, which had already dragged through the better part of three years, was continued throughout the spring and summer of 1655.[3] But, while still halting between two opinions, Cromwell had cast longing eyes on the West Indian wealth of Spain, and, possessed by the extraordinary idea that he could have peace in Europe and war 'beyond the line,' he quietly

[1] *Thurloe*, iv. p. 301.
[2] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 273, 302; *Thurloe*, iii. p. 436.
[3] See *The King in Exile*, pp. 358-360, 388.

1654 December despatched a fleet to the West Indies, with secret orders to seize upon the Spanish possessions, and to 'pursue, invade, kill, and destroy by all means whatsoever,' the Spaniards there settled.[1]

1655 June From the moment that the fleet sailed the Royalists were in no doubt as to its ultimate destination.[2] As early as June 8 Norwich announced his conviction that Spain was considering 'how handsomely underhand to assist our King,'[3] and on the same date the King confessed to Bennett, 'I cannot hinder myself from building castles in the air.'[4] He might have said, more accurately, 'castles in Spain,' for he was already seeking to reopen communication with Philip IV. Former passages made direct advances impossible, and in this matter, as in others, 'the chief engine' employed was the faithful Count of Neuburg. By his means it was hoped to obtain the Papal recommendation of the cause, without which Spain would hardly be induced to act, and Charles, professing an intention to be 'wholly governed' by his friend's counsel, forwarded to him in June a detailed statement of the advantages likely to accrue to Spain from an alliance with himself.

Postulating that war between England and Spain was now inevitable, he pointed out that it was in his power to recall the Irish regiments from the service of France to that of Spain,[5] to create considerable embarrassments for the English Government at home, and to draw a large part of the English navy, even of the fleet sent with Penn to the West Indies, back to his own standard.

'Besides the power the King hath in the navy and amongst the seamen, and in this particular fleet under Penn, where, besides the common soldiers and marines, there are many principal officers who have served his Majesty and whose affections will dispose them to receive

[1] *Clarke Papers*, iii. p. 207; *Thurloe*, iii. pp. 16-17.
[2] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 180, 184, 200, 270, 273, 320.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii. p. 231. [4] *Miscellanea Aulica*, pp. 113, 123.
[5] See *The King in Exile*, pp. 361-362, 366.

any order from the King. All which will appear as soon as his Majesty hath the liberty of ports to encourage the resort of his ships and seamen to his service, which, whensoever he shall have, Cromwell will hardly adventure the setting out any great fleets, well knowing how ill-affected the seamen are to him.'[1]

Finally, Charles averred that the proposed alliance could not fail to cause a breach between the Dutch and English, and concluded with an apologetic explanation of his previous hostile attitude towards Spain. All these considerations were duly presented to the Pope and the King of Spain by Philip of Neuburg, but, though the Count exerted himself strenuously, he met with no immediate success.[2] Spain, weakened and impoverished by long years of war, was in no haste to enter the lists with England, and many months were destined to elapse, many persons to intervene, before she could be persuaded to conclude her treaty with Charles.

One of these interveners had already come upon the scene in the person of Colonel Edward Sexby. That active Leveller had escaped arrest in connection with Wildman's plot[3] through the assistance of friends of the Earl of Norwich; wherefore, when he found Norwich at Antwerp in May 1655, he gladly renewed an acquaintance begun during the Earl's imprisonment after the second Civil War.[4] Thus he was brought into contact with Norwich's companions, Marmaduke Langdale, and Robin Phelipps, and to these three he presently confided the Levellers' intention to kill or depose 'that perjured rogue' Cromwell, and establish a free Parliament. To facilitate this project he proposed a triple alliance of Levellers, Cavaliers, and Spaniards, adding, as an inducement thereto, many extravagant boasts of the strength of his party in army, navy, and city. He could, he asserted, easily and 1655 May

[1] *Carte MSS.*, xxx. ff. 387, 389; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 53; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 65; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 97; *Thurloe Papers*, iii. p. 617.

[2] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 169; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 53-62.

[3] See pp. 59, 60.

[4] *Thurloe Papers*, iii. pp. 143, 162, 165, 194.

speedily secure possession of many of the strongest places in England, and, in proof of his statements, he produced letters from John Wildman, Lord Grey of Groby, Admiral Lawson, and Henry Laurence, President of the Council of State.[1] These assured him of the support of at least fifteen colonels of the army, and of the most part of the navy, with certain possession of several seaports, and concluded with expressions of confidence in himself, the writers absolutely 'remitting themselves to all that he might agree on.'[2]

Sexby's new friends were impressed, as he intended, and on May 21, Phelipps wrote to Nicholas:

'I am fallen into an acquaintance with a most eminent Leveller, who was so kind as to read four letters to me, which he had out of England by ye last post, which all agree in this one thing, yt Cromwell will speedily down by that faction.... He told me yt, if things were hansomly managed, ye King and Kingdom both might receive great benefit thereby. . . . I will assure you he is the principal man of yt faction now out of Cromwell's power. He is very civil to me and communicative.'[3]

Norwich also made mention of the Leveller, in characteristic fashion. 'There is an Independent in these parts that speaks buggs words,[4] and that alowde too.'[5]

But a closer acquaintance with Sexby proved disappointing, and subsequent conversations did not tend to increase the Royalists' confidence in him. Though he drank the King's health 'with much seeming affection,' he showed himself 'extremely disaffected to some of his party,' and in particular to Hyde and Ormonde, against whom he was 'greatly and foolishly prejudiced.'[6] Moreover, through all his romancing, he adhered firmly to the

[1] Cf. *Gardiner*, iii. p. 460, *n.* 2. Laurence's letter must have been a forgery or an old one written before Sexby's revolt from Cromwell.

[2] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 340; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 272; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 38, 40, 51.

[3] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 298.

[4] *i.e.* fierce words.

[5] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 300.

[6] *Ibid.*, ii. p. 347; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 274.

idea of a strictly limited monarchy. Charles, if recalled at all, must be content to act as an administrator and 'not a master' of the laws. In short, the Levellers might 'under strict limitations, for ye convenience of ye Nation, permit ye King to be ye supreme Minister, in ye vacancie of Parliaments, ye constant return of which must be certain, to whom he alsoe must be accomptable.' And even this was more than could be definitely promised, though Sexby protested that he had no personal objection to see the King 'invested in all his legal rights.'[1]

Such language sounded coldly in Royalist ears and considerably discounted the Levellers' proffered alliance, yet it was judged well to maintain relations with them and 'not at present to disgust them, but by all means to cajoyle them.'[2]

One merit at least they had, for if their affection to the King was of the slightest, their hostility to the Protector was beyond a doubt, 'yt the man I mentioned to you in my last is mortally Cromwell's enemy I dare pawne my life,' declared Phelipps. And Norwich, premising that Sexby was probably a knave, but certainly 'no fool,' alleged that he had already sent money to England 'for to take away Cromwell.' Until that were effected, the King must 'not so much as seem to stir,' afterwards, if he were 'content to permit a free Parliament,' all might yet be well. Langdale, less sanguine than the others, observed that 'the killinge of Cromwell will little avail, if in his stead they set up a Commonwealth,' and watched, with deep suspicion, a threatened rapprochement of Levellers and Presbyterians.[3]

But though Sexby dallied with all parties, his main business was with the Spanish Ministers, and he did not come to them entirely as a stranger. Some years before, when the Frondeurs had sought aid from Spain and England, he had been sent by Cromwell to stir up the 1655 June

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 67; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 341.
[2] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 341; *Thurloe Papers*, iii. pp. 429, 459.
[3] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 310, 348, 351; iii. p. 15.

Huguenots of Guienne[1] to revolt, and though the mission had proved futile, it had furnished him with an introduction to various members of Condé's household. Through that Prince's English agent, De Barrière, he had approached the Spanish Ambassador, Cardenas, whom he convinced, by much fluent lying, of his own preponderant influence at home,[2] and now, in Brussels, he induced another Frondeur, Pierre Lenet, to present him to the Spanish general, Fuensaldanha. To the general, who stood next in authority to the Archduke, he stated with much confidence, that Cromwell purposed to seize certain of the West Indian islands, and intercept the Plate Fleet on its homeward way, and, repeating his story of the Levellers' power and intentions, proposed that Spain should subscribe the sum of £150,000 towards a project so conducive to her interests as the murder of the Protector.[3] Guarantee for his veracity was furnished by Cardenas, who declared him the only man capable of opposing Cromwell, and Fuensaldanha commissioned the Irish Jesuit, Peter Talbot, to draw up a statement of his proposals in Spanish.[4] In conference with Talbot Sexby again produced his four letters, and retold his tale, with sundry additions, but though the Jesuit listened attentively, he observed in reply that neither Rome nor Spain would ever lend herself to the establishment of an English Commonwealth, and exhorted the Leveller to join forces with the King.[5] To this Sexby opposed his friends' insuperable objection to the restoration of the English Church, their deep distrust of the King's chief counsellors, Ormonde, Hyde, and Nicholas, and their general condemnation of all Cavaliers, as 'a generation which God cannot prosper, for theyr swearing, drinking, whoring, and little secrecy.' Further pressed, he admitted that a

[1] See *The King in Exile*, p. 345.

[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 51, 55.

[3] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 272.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. ff. 67, 112, 122.

[5] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 340; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 112; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 38, 40, 51.

free Parliament would probably recall the King, to which —under conditions—he was not averse,[1] and this remained his utmost concession when he set forth, towards the end of June, to plead his own cause at Madrid. Talbot, still distrustful, endeavoured to neutralise possible machinations by letters to the Pope and Don Luis de Haro, wherein he demonstrated that, for the peace of Europe and the security of Spain, it was necessary to force the Levellers into conjunction with the King. At the same time he obtained from the Papal Nuncio at Brussels an assurance that a republic would never be countenanced at Rome, and laboured to convince Fuensaldanha that Charles was 'a mere Spaniard' by policy and inclination.[2]

Later, at Fuensaldanha's instigation, he offered to go to Rome and induce the Pope to put pressure on Spain, whereby the Levellers should be forced into the arms of the Royalists. He desired his efforts seconded by a simultaneous embassy to Madrid, and suggested Ormonde or Hyde as most suitable for the mission. If neither were available, he thought Norwich the best substitute, in view of his previous acquaintance with Sexby, and the advantage he was likely to derive from the prestige of his son, Lord Goring, who had attained some distinction in the Spanish army.[3] Goring had already offered his services to the King, urging, through his father, the pressing necessity of sending an ambassador to the Spanish Court.[4] But Charles judged the time to be yet unripe, and had, moreover, too vivid a recollection of his early struggles with the gay George Goring, during the first Civil War, to desire the interposition of that irresponsible person in any of his affairs.[5] He was, besides, weary of appeals to Rome, and instead of following

1655 August

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 273; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. pp. 67, 112.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 67.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. ff. 136, 147; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 53, 54.

[4] *Spanish Papers*, R. O., vol. xliii., August 31-September 22, 1655; *Thurloe Papers*, i. p. 694; iv. p. 122.

[5] See *Rupert, Prince Palatine*, pp. 159, 161.

Talbot's advice, he again lent an ear to the Levellers, who were making a fresh bid for confidence.

1655 September During Sexby's absence from Flanders his friend and comrade, Richard Overton, had approached Langdale with offers of service to the King, and this overture was at once forwarded by Langdale to Cologne, with sapient warnings against trusting overmuch in the Levellers' promises. Personally he believed their alliance 'a better foundation' than that of Spain, if they were, as they said, able and willing to put the King into possession of an English port, but he feared that they 'talked' more than they were 'able to perform,' and doubted both their will and their power. 'The greatest danger I fear is that the Levellers have not so considerable a power in England as they pretend,' he wrote, '. . . and farther, being a people extremely opiniâstre, abounding in their own sence, and guilty in their own consciences of the wickedness they have done, that they will rather submit to the present tyrannical Government, . . . than join with his Majesty, whom they have so much persecuted.'[1]

In spite of these misgivings, Charles addressed an open letter to the Levellers, in which Overton professed to find 'so just and rational a satisfaction' as caused him deep regret for his former hostility to an excellent sovereign.

'I am sorry I have been so long in ignorance of his Majesty's affection to the publicke, but I shall for the future improve my utmost to redeem the lost time that cannot be recalled,' he protested to Langdale. 'As to ye matter of money you must needs think I cannot be ignorant of his Majesty's condition, and the want of that shall not impede my endeavours, so far as I possibly can, in his service. Assure yourself I will not fail you in the least; whatsoever lyes in my way, it shall be my work to convert it to this publicke end.'[2]

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 274, 277; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 134; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 55; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 39, 51, 104; *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, cii. fol. 60.

[2] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 43.

But when Langdale proposed that this goodwill should be practically demonstrated by an avowed coalition with the Royalists, and that Sexby's negotiation at Madrid should thenceforth be conducted in the King's name, to the mutual advantage of both parties, Overton hung back. It was, he said, impossible to write on the subject to Sexby, who indeed desired to receive no letters at all, since it was 'a thousand to nothing' that they would miscarry, besides which, his return to Flanders was expected daily. This confirmed Langdale's doubts of the Levellers' sincerity, and the further discovery that Sexby was in communication with the Presbyterian, Massey, convinced him that their sudden affection for the King was inspired by some ill-success in their intrigue with Spain.[1] This was in fact the case. Sexby had laid before Philip IV. an elaborate scheme for establishing a constitutional monarchy in England, with the joint assistance of Spain and Rome. In return for this aid he pledged himself to procure a complete liberty of worship for all religions, offering, as hostages, certain of his friends and the fleet commanded by Lawson, which was to be anchored under the guns of Dunkirk.[2] But Philip, less credulous than his ministers, promised no more than pecuniary assistance, after the revolution was well begun in England, and Sexby returned to Flanders in very ill humour, and less than ever inclinable to the Royalist cause.[3] In a two hours' interview Langdale failed to 1655 October extract from him anything beyond the bare fact that he had been in Spain, and Overton, still professing devotion to the King, confessed his friend 'much changed' and 'very peevish,' and uncommunicative even to himself. A November second meeting, on the night of November 11, proved no more satisfactory to Langdale than the first. 'Long discourses we had, but I can give you no hopes of good,' he reported to Nicholas.

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 50, 54, 67, 74, 76, 104; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 134.

[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 42; *Gardiner*, iii. pp. 461-462.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 214.

Sexby maintained that a mere rumour of joining the King would 'ruine the design,' but offered to accept the Royalist assistance provided the King himself 'sat still,' and all acted in the name of 'public liberty.' But it was no part of Charles's scheme to set up a Commonwealth, and he replied, that in case of the Levellers' success he might find that he had merely changed his enemy. To another proposal that the Royalists should rise in the King's name, while the Levellers forbore to oppose them, and did their best to resist the Government, he gave a tentative consent, and he was even willing to permit a simultaneous rising of both parties, provided his own cause were proclaimed conjointly with that of 'public liberty.' But all these schemes ended in mere talk, and on November 16 Langdale concluded the affair with the remark: 'For myself I am so weary with discoursing with them that I can no longer endure it with patience. Except you at Court have more hopes of them than they will confess to me, they are not worth the taking notice of.'[1]

1655 May — By that time the long-expected breach between England and Spain had actually occurred. In May, while Cromwell was discussing terms of treaty with Cardenas, his West Indian fleet had made an unsuccessful attack on Hispaniola, and, being driven thence with loss, had subsequently seized and possessed Jamaica. News of both

August — failure and success reached Europe early in August,

September — whereupon the Spanish Ambassador was recalled from London, and an arrest of all English goods and shipping

October — proclaimed in Spain and Flanders. On $\frac{\text{October } 26}{\text{November } 5}$ Crom-

November — well issued a manifesto against Spain, and on the following day Cardenas left London for Brussels.[2]

The exiled Royalists rejoiced openly in these events, convinced that the inevitable war must ruin Cromwell at

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 118, 119, 128; *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 55; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 91.

[2] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 66, 69, 101, 123, 129, 135; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 42, 44, 79, 100, 117; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 61; *Gardiner*, iii. chapters xlv. and xlvi.

home and force Spain at last to embrace their alliance.[1] Indications of a growing inclination towards them were not wanting. Antonio Le Brun, the Spanish Ambassador in Holland, confessed that his country had 'paid' for her early recognition of the English Commonwealth, and publicly 'dranke an health to the King of England, which with great readinesse went about the table.' Estevan de Gamarra, who succeeded him a few weeks later, betrayed a similar sentiment, spoke freely of the impending war with England, and took pains to cultivate the acquaintance of Jane, and other Royalists at the Hague.[2] In Flanders the King's agent, Sir Henry De Vic, experienced a marked change of atmosphere. The cold Spanish Ministers visibly warmed towards him, and the Prince de Condé, who had been alienated by his Stuart cousins' loyalty to the French Crown, in the wars of the Fronde,[3] now became suddenly cordial, spoke sympathetically to De Vic of the late rising in England, inquired kindly after Charles's health, and even displayed a friendly interest in James's exploits in the French army.[4] More significant still, the Archduke's proclamation concerning English merchandise styled the merchants 'subjects of the Crown of England,' and in November a 'civil' message from him reached Cologne.[5] The Marquis de Lede, Governor of Dunkirk, also sent secret assurance of his assistance to Royalist vessels sheltering in that port, and followed up this overture by inviting Lendall, one of the Royalist captains there, to reveal his knowledge of Ennisboffen Island, 'upon an inducement that they (the Spaniards) would advance the King's

[1] *Nicholas*, iii. p. 58; *Domestic State Papers*, R. O., Interregnum, c. fol. 123; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Nov. 26-Dec. 6. 1655, Burford to ——.

[2] *Holland Papers*, R. O., Oct. 2-12, 1655; *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, ci. fol. 50; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 35, 133; *Thurloe*, i. p. 684.

[3] See *The King in Exile*, pp. 348-349, 353-354.

[4] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 290; *Carte MSS.*, cxxxi. fol. 218; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 141; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 272.

[5] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 101; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 61; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 103.

interest.' Lendall replied with an offer of personal service whenever Spain declared openly for the King, without which he declined to be concerned with her affairs.[1] But the incident was considered hopeful, and in the same month an event occurred which seemed likely to hasten the desired consummation; this was the desertion of Duke François of Lorraine, with two thousand men, from the Spanish army. On the arrest and imprisonment of Charles IV. of Lorraine, for his treacherous dealings with Mazarin,[2] half of his forces had revolted to the service of France; the remaining half had consented to serve under their Duke's brother, François, who accepted the command from the King of Spain. Now, in the middle of November 1655, François fled suddenly to France, taking with him, besides his troops, his brother's jewels 'to an inestimable value,' and 'all the furniture even of his own lodging, both plate and hangings, that were lent to him for his use.'[3]

Some believed that he acted on orders from his brother, others that he was merely inspired by his consuming jealousy of the Spaniards' other ally, Condé,[4] but whatever his motive, his conduct afforded fresh ground of hope to the Royalists.

'The loss of Duke François of Lorraine's army will be no small hasting of those here to supply the said loss by his Majesty's incomers,' asserted Norwich confidently.

And throughout the winter months there was heard at Cologne 'no other discourse but of a speedy remove into Flanders.'[5] Brussels, Antwerp, and Bruges were all made the King's destination in turn; he was to be general of the forces in the next Flemish campaign, and to be furnished, by Spain, 'with an army of foot and horse men,

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 86; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 140, 143.

[2] See *The King in Exile*, p. 365.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 210; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 126, 137, 141, 144; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 67.

[4] *Thurloe Papers*, v. p. 739.

[5] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 144; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 86, 99, 100, 144, 205, 233.

a mightie fleet, and a good store of monie, for to conquer and invade England withall.' The way was to be prepared for invasion by the assassination of Protector and Council, 'whereby they suppose that England should run in a disordered confusion, and the most part of the subjects would cry out for Charles Stuart their King.' In the meantime, Thurloe was assured by his spies that the Archduke was about to send to Cologne 'to intreat and beseech' the King to come to Brussels. And a week later, it was added, 'we are full of expectation of a call for Flanders, and truly not destitute of qualifications to make a lawful one.'[1]

Charles was not indeed without the means of offering some return for Spanish hospitality. His mere presence in any country, whither all the malcontents of England, Ireland, and Scotland could resort, was a menace to the Protector's Government, and he was as well able now to draw the Irish troops back from France to Spain, as he had formerly been to draw them from Spain to France.[2] Further, though the Royalist fleet had ceased to exist, there remained the chance that a considerable portion of the English fleet would revert to the King's interest so soon as a friendly port was opened and the King's standard displayed. At the present juncture it appeared to the exiles something more than a chance. Cromwell had experienced immense difficulty in manning his summer fleet, the pressed sailors were notoriously discontented, and their discontent was fostered by Admiral Lawson, the ally of the Levellers, who, too popular to be cashiered, retained command of the Channel Squadron.[3] Early in the year he had been in actual correspondence with Charles,[4] and had probably given him those assurances of the affection of the navy which were conveyed to the Duke of Neuburg in June.[5] But even if these

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 102, 143, 169, 170.
[2] *Ibid.*, iv. pp. 10, 102.
[3] *Thurloe*, iv. p. 205; *Domestic State Papers*, Interreg., cxxiv. ff. 18, 110.
[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 347. [5] *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 54; see p. 164.

hopes failed, there were still many privateers sailing under the royal commission, which might prove very serviceable to Spain. An avowedly incomplete list of these vessels, drawn up in August 1652, gave the names of six captains sailing from Dunkirk, and of two sailing from Bruges, but, for the most part, they hung about the ports of France, particularly Brest, Nantes, and St. Malo.[1] Under French protection, they had long been a useful, though precarious source of income to Charles and his brother James, but, as France drew nearer to an alliance with England, her tolerance of the King's ships diminished, and in January 1655 Charles was requested to forbid his vessels to enter French ports. This, as Jermyn observed, was a more delicate mode of procedure than the obvious one of forbidding the governors of the ports to receive the vessels in question, and Charles complied so far as to transfer his Admiralty Registrar to Antwerp, where commissions were readily accepted.[2] With the connivance of the governors, his ships lingered in the French ports, until the treaty between France and England had actually been signed, and then their position became matter for serious disquiet.

'If you part fayre, and they suffer all the vessels to get out of the ports, it is as much as I look for,' wrote Hyde to Sir Richard Browne. But when that was safely done, it remained to find shelter for the wandering vessels. The Royalists could only hope that Dunkirk and Ostend might prove 'as hospitable' as the Breton ports, and though no invitation was accorded them, their ships were suffered to frequent the Flemish coast without
1655 December molestation. This encouraged Dutch, as well as English captains, to seek the King's commissions; in December De Vic disposed of thirteen without difficulty, and in the same month a declaration of reprisals for the 'inhuman cruelties' practised by the Protector's men-of-war, was

[1] *French Papers*, R. O., August 9-19, 1652.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 261; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 29.

subscribed by no less than thirty-three captains and officers, 'aboard his Majesty's fleet, which, for the present, frequents foreign parts.'[1]

All these considerations might be reasonably regarded as inducements to an alliance of Spain with the King, and in August Hyde had himself written to the Spanish Minister, Don Luis de Haro, pointing out that the best way to check Cromwell's career abroad was to harass him at home, which could only be done effectually by the English Royalists. He added that 'a small countenance' would suffice to give them fresh life, and that a large portion of the English fleet would seek the King's service at Dunkirk or Ostend, if Spain declared openly for his interest.[2] Don Luis acknowledged the receipt of this letter privately to Goring, but made no immediate response, and in September De Vic received instructions to enlarge upon the same theme to the ministers in Flanders.[3] But the old diplomatist was in no compliant mood. Slighted by the Spaniards, neglected, as he conceived, by his own King, and so heavily burdened with debt as to be 'every day in danger of an affront,' he had found his post at Brussels grow daily more uncomfortable, and early in the year had actually threatened 'to seek bread for himself and his children' from the English Government, or at least to retire to 'places so remote' that the Court should no more be troubled with him.[4] In view of the new hopes from Spain the loss of so valuable an agent could not be contemplated with equanimity. He was adjured not to quit his post at the critical moment, pacified with representations of the King's extreme poverty, and relieved of his most pressing wants by an assignment of two hundred pounds, being half of the Archduke's contribution to the King as a Prince of

1655 August

September

[1] *Evelyn*, iv. pp. 306, 308-309; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 210, 237; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., November 23-December 3, November 26-December 6, 1655; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 291, 361.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. p. 275.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 141; li. fol. 83.

[4] *Ibid.*, xlix. fol. 397; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 25.

the Empire.[1] Only partially appeased, he struggled on at Brussels, occupied with the cultivation of Condé's reviving goodwill towards the King; but this was by no means all that was required of him, and on November 5 more definite instructions were sent to him from Cologne. He was now bidden to follow the Spanish army in all haste, deliver to the Archduke, Fuensaldanha, and Condé respectively, three letters from the King, and, after consultation with Fuensaldanha, to sue the Archduke for the liberty of the ports in Spain, Italy, and Flanders, reiterating the promises of the consequent adhesion of a large part of the English navy. Further, he was to 'dexterously insinuate' the advantages likely to result from the King's residence in Flanders, intimating that it would, besides bringing many ships to his standard, materially affect the attitude of the Dutch. At the same time he was to deny having received any orders from Cologne, and to assume the entire responsibility of these overtures.[2] News that the Archduke was still at Brussels brought, within a few days, yet another set of instructions. De Vic was to demand an audience at once, without awaiting the advice of Fuensaldanha, to deliver the King's letter to the Archduke, and then accompany him to the army, and act as before enjoined, assuring Condé particularly of the King's forgetfulness of 'past unkindnesses.' 'Be not quiet until you have opened us a door to come to you,' entreated the Chancellor.[3]

1655 November

But De Vic's wants were still great, and he had also found a new source of discontent in the 'unskilful interpositions' of Norwich and Talbot, by whom he conceived himself superseded. Instead of seeking the army, he lingered at Antwerp, protesting that he could not 'follow the Court without a supply,' and that in any case his services could be of little use.

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 77.

[2] *Ibid.*, l. ff. 141, 195; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 277; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 63.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 194.

'He was pleased to undervalue his own endeavours in this business now in agitation,' explained George Lane, 'and thereupon I conceived I could do no less than intimate to him that his friends at Cologne had a very good opinion of him, and were very well satisfied with his dexterous management of the trusts that had been committed to him. And withal, I told him that, as I very well knew the wants at Court were such as he could not possibly be supplied at present, so I was confident that, as soon as there was any money, care would be taken for the supply and support of so useful a minister as he was.'[1]

Soothed and cheered by these tactful words, De Vic promised to do his best in 'the great difficulties he had to encounter,' provided that he was given steady support from Cologne, and was not subjected to the interference of irresponsible persons. Yet, on December 7 he had not begun his journey, and Hyde was constrained to write that the King was dissatisfied with the reasons assigned for the delay and would be seriously displeased if any 'new accidents' hindered obedience to his orders. In short De Vic must hesitate no longer to broach the subject of the projected visit to Flanders, and must inform Fuensaldanha forthwith of the King's desire to confer with him on matters closely concerning the interests of Spain.[2] As this letter was accompanied by a supply of two hundred pistoles, De Vic found himself able to obey its directions, and at last set out in search of the army. 1655 December

Throughout December instructions of a monotonous sameness came constantly from Cologne. The main points of the negotiation were, as always, the desired invitation to Flanders, and the opening of the ports to the King's ships; the inducements thereto were insistence on the necessity of a conference between the King and the Spanish Ministers, reiterated promises of the adhesion of a part of the English navy, and assurances of the

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 133-134.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 279; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 209.

Royalists' ability to 'kindle a fire' in England, Scotland, and Ireland. In addition to this De Vic was adjured to fan the flame of Condé's friendship, to gain the goodwill of Cardenas, whose long English experience gave his judgment weight with his colleagues, and to obviate Spanish resentment of the Princess Mary's projected journey to France by representing, as its sole object, a visit to her mother, from whom she had been parted since her childhood.[1]

The progress of the affair was watched with keen interest by the Flemings, who were, as a whole, well-inclined to the English King and 'very earnest to have his Majesty amongst them . . . judging it impossible for the King of Spain to wage a war with Cromwell without heartily embracing his Majesty's quarrel and interest.' In Antwerp and Bruges the citizens looked daily for the arrival of their royal guest; the Governor of Antwerp Castle expressed 'a great deal of passion and devotion to his Majesty's service,' which he desired to prove 'with his sword in his hand,' and Cardenas's chaplain averred that Charles had been already invited to Dunkirk, where he was about to set out twenty-five ships of war.[2] The same news reached the States-General from Paris, but it was, to say the least, premature. The kindness of the Flemings could avail little while the Spaniards held aloof, and from them De Vic's best efforts could wring no more than courteous speeches. In their eyes the drawbacks attendant on all that Charles had to offer outweighed the advantages of his alliance. If they opened their ports to him they ran the risk of admitting their English foe in Royalist guise, and in any case the Levellers offered the adherence of Lawson more surely than Charles could do. The recall of the Irish regiments appeared the less possible or desirable because the miserable condition of those yet remaining to Spain was

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 219; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 71, 74, 78.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 28; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 207, 210, 213, 233.

evinced by daily desertions,[1] and in Charles himself the Spaniards had little confidence. His French mother, his brother's service in the French army, his own earlier policy, all made for distrust, and this received fresh stimulus in December from rumours of his sister's intention to visit Paris.[2] Again the religious principles of his chief counsellors were not calculated to commend them to the Spaniards who cherished against Hyde particularly a prejudice 'not to be expressed and as little to be allayed'; while Cardenas's assertion that all the King's secrets were betrayed in England made his colleagues very loth to enter into relations with the exiled Court.[3]

'It is strange,' commented Nicholas, 'how confident our best politicians are that the King will soon be invited into Flanders by the King of Spain. I do not think that King will so suddenly and heartily embrace our Master's interests, having observed how slow his Majesty's party in England are to rise for him, how much he is entangled in the snares of France, and how many about him are suspected for their loyalty.'[4]

Over and above these disabilities there remained the great burden of Royalist poverty, which the Spanish Ministers were well able to estimate by observation of those exiles who dwelt among themselves. There was Norwich, ever ready to 'starve in a pit' or to be 'disgraced for ever' for lack of ten patacoons; Langdale, in a condition 'so mean' that he could no longer seek the company of 'persons of quality'; Stephens, reduced to pawn 'the last thing' he possessed for the sum of three pistoles; George Lane, doubting from day to day the possibility of finding food for a sick wife and child; even the King's resident, De Vic, whose 'necessities' were beyond what he could express 'without extreme

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 301; iii. pp. 188, 248.
[2] *Ibid.*, iii. pp. 204, 228.
[3] *Ibid.*, iii. pp. 2, 208; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 283; *Thurloe State Papers*, i. p. 684; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 76-77.
[4] *Holland Papers*, R.O., Nicholas to Jane, October 2-12, 1655.

shame and confusion.'[1] And Spain was in no case to assume such burdens lightly. In the utmost straits for money, unable to fit her forces for the field, or to retain the unpaid Irish regiments, harassed by the clamours of Condé, who, with his army, was 'brought to the last gasp,' and warned by the Flemings that taxes would no more be paid if trade were interrupted by war with England, she yet trembled for the safety of the Plate Fleet, on which all her supplies depended.[2] This desperate need combined with the unsuccessful contest with France to render Spain slower to avenge her wrongs than pride would have prompted. Hard pressed in Flanders, Italy, and Catalonia, she would willingly have avoided a new war, and clung to the hope of an accommodation with England so long as the shadow of a hope remained. 'The Spaniard is so miserable that he must resent no injuries,'[3] observed Langdale contemptuously, and at the beginning of December he made a graphic summary of the situation. 'The King of Spain is harder put to resolve now than ever he was since it was a Spanish Monarchy; the French, Cromwell, Swede, all threatening the House of Austria, Flanders, Italy, and Spain, and the Indies infested by his enemies; his subjects discontented, his fleet not come home, his Monarchy in a miserable condition for want of an heir-male. . . . To undertake our King and his retinue, all in a necessitous condition, and his party in almost the condition of slavery, without arms—these are considerations to shake wise men.'[4]

In the circumstances, it was not strange that the Spaniards preferred to 'attend' the action of the Levellers, whose strength was continually magnified by

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 2, 10, 135, 232, 238; *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 397; *Carte MSS.*, cxxxi. fol. 181.

[2] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 300-301; iii. pp. 70, 71, 95; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 298.

[3] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 40, 56, 58, 95, 97, 102, 104; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 65, 210.

[4] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 201.

Cardenas, and disregarded Talbot's warnings that they might 'leap from the frying pan to the fire' by setting up a Republic in England. To this they were rather inclined by a belief that it would keep that country 'embroiled in perpetual divisions,' and the Jesuit's arguments were met with the reply that nothing could be more advantageous to the King than the overthrow of Cromwell, and a recommendation to keep quiet until that were achieved.[1]

At the first Charles declared himself undismayed by all this 'wariness and reservedness,' but as time wore on he grew impatient, and on December 17 he informed De Vic that he should take a 'civil silence' for assent, and come 'with a light train' to Brussels.[2] To this course he had long been urged by several of his friends, and in particular by Norwich, who believed that his presence in Flanders would effect more with the Ministers in one day than all that his agents could say in twenty, besides satisfying the anxiety of the Royalists at home to see the King 'on his wing.'

'But since ye are all of another mind, God's will be done,' concluded the old Earl. 'I am sure you shall have my prayers for the best, and there leave it.'[3]

Nicholas, on the contrary, thought that to seek Flanders uninvited would be 'a strange precipitation,' calculated to 'beget distrust in a people that love to walk with a slow pace in affairs of consequence.' Langdale took the same view, opining that the Spaniards would regard the King's unexpected arrival as 'an high affront,' deliberately designed to interrupt their treaty with the Levellers; and Rupert sent an entreaty from Heidelberg that his cousin 'would not be too hasty in offering himself to the King of Spain. If the business break between them and

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 188, 248; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 156; li. ff. 22, 28; *Cal. Domestic State Papers*, January 11-21, 1656, Nicholas to Jane; *Holland Papers*, December 7-17, 1655, Nicholas to Jane.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 219; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 74.

[3] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 143, 217, 221; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 279.

England,' he added, 'they will be sure to take the King of England by the hand; if not, all will be vain.'[1]

Yielding to the voice of wisdom, Charles resigned himself to wait until Spain wearied of the Levellers, or despaired of peace with England, and in the meantime Talbot contrived another of those 'unskilful interpositions' so much deprecated by De Vic. His new project was the conversion of the King, which aim he had pursued for some months past by means of a correspondence with Richard Harding. In August he had sent to Cologne 'a curious history of Luther and other such-like particular persons,' and this was supplemented later by 'a very pretty book,' which Charles was assured could be easily perused in one afternoon. The way being thus prepared, Talbot revealed his scheme to Fuensaldanha, who embraced it promptly, and on December 9 he wrote tentatively to the King of 'a thought' which, translated into action, would bind the Spaniards to his cause and restore him to his kingdoms within six months. Hyde prevented Charles from answering the letter, and inveighed fiercely against officious 'zeal' and 'overmeddling' to De Vic, whom he charged to hold no intercourse with the Irish Jesuit, or any of his brothers. At the same time he informed Talbot, through Norwich, that his thoughts were not understood at Cologne, where they awaited the issue of De Vic's negotiation.[2] Talbot replied calmly that he feared they would, in that case, remain 'long enough at Cologne,' since De Vic could never bring his negotiation to a satisfactory conclusion, for the simple reason that the Spaniards would not trust him. Of this he had assurance from Fuensaldanha, who earnestly desired to treat with some one in whom he could confide, such a person in fact as Talbot himself. In the circumstances his presence in Flanders must be regarded as due to a 'most particular Providence,' and

[1] *Holland Papers*, R.O., Nicholas to Jane, October 9-19, $\frac{\text{November 29}}{\text{December 9}}$, 1655; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 188; *Thurloe Papers*, i. p. 694.

[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 53, 69, 71, 74, 76.

he had already done much for the cause by winning Cardenas's sympathy, and combating the Spanish prejudice against Hyde and Ormonde.[1]

An accompanying letter to Charles revealed the new scheme in detail. With many adjurations to preserve strict secrecy and 'consult with none but God,' the King was informed that the one condition on which the Spanish Ministers could help him was his immediate submission to the Church of Rome. In this case, and in no other, he would be warmly welcomed in Flanders, whither he must come at once, incognito, and accompanied only by Ormonde. Messages would then be sent to the Pope, the King of Spain, and Don Luis, by whose assistance money would be collected, Levellers, Presbyterians, and Anabaptists 'steered' in accordance with the royal interest, and a restoration effected in six months. At the worst the King would probably be given the hand of the Infanta, then heir to the Spanish throne, and his change of religion should be kept so close a secret that he might, if he were so minded, live all his life a hypocrite. 'I desire your Majesty not to let slip this opportunity,' conjured Talbot, 'though you live a hundred years, there will never concur such circumstances to your advantage. Remember, Sire, that three kingdoms is worth a journey.' He forbore to add, 'worth a mass,' though doubtless the example of Charles's grandfather, Henri IV., was in his mind, and he wound up by quoting the words of the Spanish Ministers:

'Tell the King of England that he shall find among us secrecy, honour, and real dealing, and assure him that if he will do what we desire we will live and die together. Let him make no capitulations for that will be suspicious; the more he trusts the King of Spain and the Pope the better it is. . . . But secrecy is the life of all, and shall be kept on this side. Let the King of England keep his own.'[2]

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 283.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii. pp. 280-282; *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol 234.

1656 January

A later note from Fuensaldanha confirmed all this with the remark: 'If so be that he comes with the intent your paternitie knows, it will be always good that he comes, but it must be with that secrecy and form which he hath spoken.' And Cardenas added a warning that hesitation would be 'ill-taken,' and rejection would throw both Spain and Rome back on the proposals of Sexby.[1] Talbot supplemented the more worldly arguments with another book, sent for the King's perusal, and long religious discourses, addressed ostensibly to Harding, while his letters to Charles urged always the need for haste.

'I do most humbly and earnestly desire your Majesty not to delay your coming to this town one day after the receipt of this; for, I assure your Majesty, an hour's time lost, as things stand now, may be irreparable, and the reception is the best that can be wished for your Majesty. That I have not only commission but solid grounds for what I say shall appear to your Majesty as soon as you arrive here. Your Majesty must be pleased to give out that you go to meet, or visit your sister to Breda, or some other place near this. . . . I beseech your Majesty to believe me that any lingering in this business may be the loss of three kingdoms. . . . In conclusion, if your Majesty will come in the manner I writ to you in my former, there can be no prudent doubt but you will, by God's assistance, have your own in possession in the space of six months.'[2]

These assertions were endorsed by Norwich, who represented Fuensaldanha's desire for 'a hand to hand' meeting, reproached the King bitterly for his reluctance to accept the Spanish overtures, and pleaded that, if there were risks involved, yet 'in such diseases we must run great hazards for the cure.' Hyde retaliated by a summons to Cologne, but this Norwich disobeyed, on the plea of lacking funds for the journey, and the

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, li. ff. 2, 10, 16, January 3, 4, 5, 1656.

Chancellor was fain to pour out his soul to De Vic.[1] In great indignation, he protested that unless Talbot were despatched by his superiors to some distant convent he should believe him 'purposely let loose to do us a mischief,' threatened to denounce him as a traitor to the Spanish Ministers, and avowed an intention of checking his correspondence with the King.[2] That was, however, beyond his power, and his wrath merely stimulated Talbot to address another letter to Charles, wherein he demonstrated that, as the proposed conversion was the only means of obtaining Spanish aid, so it was 'the only way to Heaven' for a person of the King's 'great wit and judgment,' whom 'only want of information' could alienate from the true Church. Consequently his action in seeking at once the temporal and eternal welfare of his Sovereign had been 'prompted by the duty of a subject and the conscience of an honest man.'[3]

1656 January

But Charles deemed his temporal welfare insufficiently guaranteed, and, in the first week of January 1656, he sent Ormonde secretly to test the truth of Talbot's statements at Brussels. There, on the morning of January 9, Ormonde met Fuensaldanha at a house opposite to the Church of the Carmelites, and learned, among other things, that the invitation to the King had been 'the production of an indiscreet zeal,' entirely unauthorised by the Ministers. The whole trend of the conversation convinced him of the futility of treating in Flanders, where it was evident that nothing could be done without orders from Madrid, and, as Fuensaldanha denied the notes sent in his name to Cologne, the other could only conclude him 'a great dissembler,' or Talbot, 'a most exquisite forger.' An interview with the priest, and his own 'unhappy experience of the Irish clergy,' decided him in favour of the Count, and, having de-

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 245; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 89; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 227.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 32.

[3] *Ibid.*, li. fol. 35.

spatched his report to Cologne, he waited directions at Antwerp.[1] These arrived about January 16 in a letter from Charles himself, expressing satisfaction with Ormonde's proceedings, and dilating on the ill-humour of the Chancellor, who had already 'sworn two or three halfe oaths' at the 'gadding' of his most valued colleague. Lest worse should come, Ormonde was entreated to hasten back to Court, and on Tuesday, January 18, he began his return journey.[2]

At Brussels he had seen no one save Fuensaldanha, De Vic, and his own secretary, Lane, who contrived to discover him on the Sunday night; but his sojourn in Antwerp had been signalised by a meeting with the Danish exile, Hannibal Seestadt. Formerly Viceroy of Norway, but now disgraced and banished by his brother-in-law, Frederick III., Seestadt found himself, as he said, like the English Royalists, 'seeking for fire in the cinders.'[3] In the previous year this search had led him to England, where, for a while, the Protector took great delight in his company; but the discovery that the Dane was 'a very debauched person' presently caused Cromwell to withdraw the light of his countenance, and Seestadt quitted England for Flanders.[4] At Antwerp he fell in with Norwich, who, charmed by his wit and conversation, offered him introductions at Cologne, and wrote of him enthusiastically to Ormonde, enjoining his old friend to greet the new one with 'rapping glasses and a good shake by the hand.'[5] The visit to Cologne took place in January 1656, during Ormonde's absence in Flanders,[6] but when Seestadt returned to Antwerp on January 16, he found Ormonde still there, and at once

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 86; *Carte MSS.*, cxxxi. ff. 212, 220; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 240, 243.

[2] *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 67; *Historical MSS. Com.*, Report 13, Appendix vii., January 14, 1656; *Thurloe*, i. p. 698.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, i. p. 701.

[4] *Whitelocke*, p. 627, July 1655.

[5] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 317-319, 332; *Thurloe*, iv. p. 219.

[6] *Thurloe Papers*, v. p. 739, January 8, 1656 (misdated 1657).

sent to ask if he were 'at leasure to receive a visit from him.' Ormonde forestalled the courtesy by hastening to Seestadt's lodgings, and the two held a serious conference on the King's affairs, which brought the Dane to the conclusion that he and Charles, who had already formed a warm friendship with him, might render each other mutual service.[1] He therefore asked letters of recommendation to the Queen of Bohemia, the two Princesses of Orange, and Count William of Nassau, whereby he might be enabled to procure some military office in Holland, proposing, in return, to exert himself for the King's interest in Flanders.[2] The offer was accepted, and Seestadt devoted the next few weeks to ascertaining the true state of Spanish feeling towards the English King. Cardenas he found 'pas de plus affectionés,' but Fuensaldanha proved more hopeful. Though he complained sharply of James's presence in the French army, he displayed a significant interest in Charles's personal affairs, spoke 'fort mal' of Cromwell, and finally admitted that Spain was about to declare war with England. The Archduke was more expansive, and gave Seestadt to understand that he had the English King's interest 'fort au cœur,' but his sympathy was slightly discounted by his extreme piety which inclined him 'to leave the matter to God, without exciting himself much on the subject.' In conclusion, Seestadt was of Ormonde's opinion that an envoy should be sent to Madrid, and De Vic was selected as the person most suitable for the mission.[3] Instructions were forwarded to him on February 4, but within a week of their reception the face of affairs completely changed, and De Vic could only account for the sudden 'freedom and kindness' of the Spanish Ministers by the supposition that they had received orders from Madrid to treat with the King. This supposition was confirmed by Seestadt, and later by

1656 February

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 247, 248.
[2] *Thurloe Papers*, i. pp. 700, 704.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. pp. 698, 699, 701, 702.

Goring, who derived the information from Don Luis himself; the journey to Spain was rendered unnecessary, and Charles, 'marvellously pleased,' wrote out De Vic's new instructions with his own hand.[1]

Fuensaldanha was now to be informed that the King had forbidden the English Royalists to move until he sent them help from abroad; that Cromwell was universally detested, and that all the contending parties were aware that they could accomplish nothing without the Royalists. The Royalist interest in the West Indies and the English navy was to be duly represented, and the opening of the ports again pressed on the ground that a part of the fleet, now set out for service on the coast of Spain, would certainly revolt to the King's interest, if secure of a good reception. Finally, the Ministers were to be assured of Charles's intention to treat without reserve and of his readiness to come to Antwerp, Mechlin, or any other Flemish town for that purpose.[2] As an earnest of future good offices Hyde added, in a private letter to De Vic, warning of an attack intended by the French on Dunkirk, and promised the withdrawal of James from France, notwithstanding Mazarin's evident purpose to detain him.[3] But in February the Ministers had again relapsed into a 'shyness and wariness' which inspired De Vic with grave doubts of their sincerity, and wrought in him such depression that he reiterated his threat of leaving Brussels if not supplied with money. Hyde answered with some severity, 'Though I do not doubt your necessities are so great yt every little sum is convenient to your relief, yet I should not be your friend if I did not tell you it is ill-done to write in your letter to the secretary, which the King must see, yt, if

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 32, 63, 83; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 78, 88, 92; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 285; *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, cxxiv., fol. 14; *Thurloe Papers*, i. p. 703.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 286; *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 64; *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, cxxiv. fol. 14.

[3] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 287; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 94.

it be not returned forthwith, you will leave Brussels—in such a time of business—to go to some other place to get bread. The expression shocked me when I read it, and no doubt it did others. It is impossible for any man to be more solicitous in such a business than ye good secretary. You should believe the delay could proceed from nothing but the same necessity here.'[1] De Vic was silenced, though in point of fact he had other reasons than poverty for his discontent, which was induced, partially, by the hitch in his negotiation, consequent on Lawson's resignation of his command.[2] This dashed the hopes entertained of the English fleet, yet Charles refused to be daunted, and merely directed his agent to desist from his importunity concerning the ports and concentrate his energies on obtaining an invitation to Flanders. So firm was the Chancellor's belief in this that he inquired the cost of a coach and six horses to Brussels, and, finding it beyond his means, announced his intention of travelling thither by boat. He even desired Nicholas to be ready to accompany him on Monday, March 6, but the old Secretary was less sanguine.

1656 February 11th-21st

'Till I see that the King be invited I shall not be so hasty,' he declared.[3]

March

His caution was justified; the expected invitation tarried long, and Charles was fain, at last, to dispense with it altogether and to construe certain words of the Spanish Ministers into a tacit consent to his coming. Cardenas had discussed the allowance to be granted him by Spain; Fuensaldanha had spoken of his ménage at Cologne, and, learning that 'he knew how to accommodate himself with the times,' and was 'contented with only three or four dishes at his table,' had announced grandiloquently:

'Why then, wee will give him heere eight. I meane he

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 83; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 95, 96.

[2] *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, cxxv. fol. 4; *Thurloe*, iv. pp. 571, 589.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 83; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 96; *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, lxxiv. fol. 76.

must bee maintained like himself and according to our King's greatness.'[1] This sufficed to Charles for encouragement, and, on the morning of Wednesday, March 8, he set out from Cologne with two servants and an escort of a dozen horse. The escort he discarded before entering Flemish territory, and on Saturday, March 11, he arrived with his two servants at the Sun Inn at Louvain, whence he was conducted by De Vic to Brussels. Ormonde, following secretly, reached Louvain on the same day and took up his abode at the Sign of the Emperor. This procedure was in deference to the wishes of the Spaniards, who had desired that the King, when he came, might be unaccompanied by any of his councillors, but even so his sudden arrival was a severe shock to the slow and formal Ministers of Spain. They expressed themselves 'much troubled' by the event, but their courtesy did not fail them, and Charles's account of his first meeting with them was a cheerful one. 'I am just now come from my first conference with Fuensaldanha and Don Alonso,' he wrote to Ormonde on Sunday, March 12, 'and though at first I found them dry and expecting that I should propose all, yett at last they began to be very free with me, and to that degree that, though it was not in matters of the last importance, I think, without being sanguine, I may hope that at our next meeting, which will be at five in the afternoon, we shall advance farre in our business.'[2]

The hope was not fulfilled. The Spaniards refused to be hurried, and they were, besides, averse from treating with the King in person. He was therefore requested to retire to Vilvord, 'a little vile dorp, about a league from Brussels, where he was vilely accomodated,' and to send for some one to take his place at Brussels.

Charles at once proposed to send Ormonde, and after some demur, the Spaniards suffered him to be called to

[1] *Carte MSS.*, ccxiii. fol. 61; *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 84.

[2] *Clarendon, History*, xv. 19; *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 92; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 288.

Brussels.[1] He arrived there on Tuesday, March 14, and on the same day the King wrote to him from Vilvord. 'It was time to leave the place I came from this morning, for they began to stare at us, and had given the allarum all over the town. I came from thence about twelve o'clock, and to disgise the way I intended, I went out at the Diest port, and when I was almost a mile out of the towne we took a compasse round the towne, and so fell into the way hither, where I think we are not like to be knowne, except some accident discover us. So I resolve to stay here till you direct me otherwise. Let those you are to speake with know the care I take to keep myself private. You will quickly judge whether our business is like to draw out in any lenth, and whether our stock will outlast it, and accordingly you will do well to bethinke yourself how we may be supplied, ether where you are, or at Antwerp, or from any other place. Remember you take not any kind of notice to the persons you speake with that I have told you anything concerning the Levellers or Catholiques, and if they speake to you of this latter, you may say what you thinke fitt to it, but not as if you had heard it before.'[2]

Two days later Charles forbade any mention of James in the negotiation, and approved Ormonde's suggestion of two separate treaties: 'Do that which you thinke fitt, and you may be assured I shall like it.' At the same time he wrote to his 'uncle,' Philip IV., recapitulating all that had passed between himself and the Ministers at Brussels, and expressing a hope that Spain would now see the way to assist him. But for all his diligence the affair proceeded slowly, hindered partly by the machinations of Sexby, and partly by the difficulty of providing Charles with a pension.[3] This difficulty had been long

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xv. p. 19; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 592; *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 96.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 94.

[3] *Ibid.*, li. ff. 96, 98, 117, 118, 128; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 102, 106; *Clarendon, History*, xv. p. 19; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 619; *Nicholas*, iii. p. 273.

foreseen by the Ministers, and Ormonde, a person of infinite patience, found it in his heart to pity them.

'The men we are to deale with, some of us say, are too slow,' he wrote; 'but I see not how we can allow them less time in a mater of so high import, and, however, the law is in their hands, and wee must receive it from them, yett they treat us with all the civility we could expect if we were upon more equal terms with them. I doubt not but our conclusion will be good, for it were an inhumanity to ad shuch a skorne to our affliction as it would be to delude us, or make a property of the King, in the case he is. I believe they are not prepared with means to receive and support the King, nor will to divert what they have for the business of these countries to any other use, which is nearest their care, and for which they are not over plentifully furnished. So I conclude wee must return to you till both satisfaction of what shall be agreed on and the means to support and set us on worke shall come from Spaine, which I do not look for so soon as they make us believe. But I can bear that delay in the assurance that it will come at last.'[1]

Hyde expressed a wish, in reply, that the King would await the end of the treaty at Cologne, rather than in the 'indecent posture' he was now in.[2] But Charles had no intention of making the return journey. On his first arrival at Vilvord his name and business had been inquired by the Colonel in Charge, but a hint from Brussels had quieted the official curiosity, and the King was left unmolested to pass his time in reading Spanish, corresponding with Hyde and Talbot, and playing at cribbage with Rochester and Bennett, who had joined him since his departure from Brussels. On March 19 he begged Ormonde to send him a Spanish New Testament, since he hoped to have 'much need of that language,' adding:

'Pray send us as good news to-morrow as the wine and mutton was to-day. God sende you better lucke at

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 271. [2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 131.

pickett than I have with Harry Bennett at cribbadge. If you can find no other book in Italian worth sending, lett me have, by the first that comes, *Pastor Fido*.'[1]

By April 8 he was again in Brussels, and on the 11th he was admitted to a conference with Alonso de Cardenas, in which he apparently won that cautious statesman's good opinion. 1656 April

'Don Alonso . . . extols his person and parts very highly, and says he finds him to have more in him than in all those of his Council,' was the report sent to Thurloe.[2]

On the next day, April 12, the treaty was at last signed at Brussels. Its clauses provided for the renewal of the treaty made between England and Spain in 1630, and for a league, offensive and defensive, between the two crowns. In addition to this, Spain undertook to provide Charles with a force of 4000 foot and 2000 horse, duly equipped with arms and ammunition, with ships for their transport and a sufficient sum of money for their maintenance, whenever a suitable port had been secured for their debarkation in England. Charles, in return, renounced all friendship with the 'Duke of Braganza,' as the King of Portugal was still termed by Spain, and engaged to provide Spain, on his restoration, with twelve ships of war for five years' service against Portugal; to allow Spain to make levies of English and Irish soldiers; to restore all conquests made by England in the West Indies since 1630,[3] and to permit no new English plantations to be made there. In a separate and secret article, he pledged himself to execute the treaty made by Ormonde with the Irish Confederation, 1646, to suspend the penal laws against Roman Catholics, and secure their repeal, when it should be possible.[4]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 98, 106; *Thurloe*, iv. p. 592.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 292; *Thurloe*, iv. pp. 157, 177.

[3] *i.e.* Antigua, Montserrat, and Jamaica.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 147, 151; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 109-110.

Both treaties, signed on Charles's behalf by Ormonde, Rochester, and De Vic, and by Fuensaldanha and Cardenas on the part of Philip IV., were sent to Madrid for ratification, and on the next day, April 14, Charles attended Mass at the Jesuits' Church, in the company of the Archduke. Four days later he took a final leave of Leopold and Fuensaldanha, and on Wednesday, April 19, he retired to Bruges.[1]

Fain would he have remained at Brussels, 'that it might be notorious that he was in alliance with his Catholic Majesty,' but no word concerning his present maintenance had been inserted in the treaty, and the Ministers refused to sanction his presence in the capital. It was, they said, inconsistent with their master's honour to receive another King in his capital without such ceremony as the poverty of Flanders could not afford. If, however, Charles chose to remain incognito in Bruges, he would doubtless receive all due respect from the citizens. With this Charles had to rest content, and that he was so, for the time, may be inferred from his letter to the Chancellor of April 17:

'I only tell you that if you were here you would not be long of that melancholy opinion you are, and that which we have gotten already is more than I hoped for when I left Cologne, and which, if anybody could have assured us of two months since, would have made you caper in speight of the gout.'[2]

Hyde replied with equal enthusiasm:

'I have yours of the 17th, which is the most cheerful letter I have received these seven years, and would have set me on my feet when my gout commanded most. And if there were any of melancholic in my last, which you know was never charged upon me in any of the articles, hope—senseless hope—being my sin, I may curse my Lord Lieutenant for it, who gave me such a

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 297; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 274; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 678.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 297; *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 169.

melancholic account of the little hope there was of your stay there that I had little reason to care though my gout should hold me a year longer. I do not wish a better evidence than you have given me that he had malice in his heart when he writ it.'[1]

The mere name of a treaty was so much gained, and for the rest both Charles and his Chancellor were content to trust to time and to the change of ministers about to take place in Flanders. Neither realised that they owed the concessions already made by the Archduke and Fuensaldanha to the fact that both had demanded their recall, and were about to bequeath all trouble to their successors.

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 296.

CHAPTER VII

The King at Bruges—Choice of a House—Arrival of Servants from Cologne—The Family left at Cologne—Need of Money—Impatience of Henry—Hyde at Breda—His Anxiety—His Advice to the King—Buckingham—Religious 'Scandals'—Imprudence of De Vic—Hyde summoned to Bruges—Don Juan of Austria—Meeting of the King with Don Juan—The Prince de Condé—Ratification of the Treaty—Condition of the King at Bruges—The Court—Spanish Successes—Scheme to raise a Royalist Army in Flanders—The Talbots—Hyde sent to Brussels—Ormonde sent to the Spanish Army—His Negotiation with Don Juan—The Ports opened—Secession of MacCarty's Regiment from France—Ormonde and Mazarin—James of York in France—Visit of the Princess Mary to Paris—Charles's Jealousy of James—Departure of James from France—Treaty of England and France.

1656 April

AT Bruges, whither Charles came on April 19, with Ormonde, Rochester, Bennett, Armorer, and O'Neil, he was received into the house of the Irish Lord Tara. Anthony Preston, second Viscount Tara, was the son of that Thomas Preston who had distinguished himself in the Irish wars as a general of the Confederated Catholics, and had been created Viscount Tara by Charles in 1650.[1] The second viscount had succeeded to the title in October 1655, and was now enabled, by the inheritance of a small estate from his Flemish mother, to offer hospitality to his destitute Sovereign. But small though the King's train was, the size of the house did not admit of its accommodation, wherefore Ormonde, O'Neil, Rochester, and Bennett were obliged to seek lodgings

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 91.

at a certain Mr. Robinson's 'a good half mile' from Tara's house, and Armorer was established with the King's horses 'at an inn, not much nearer, and at great expense.' Consequently, though Charles was 'very civilly used' by Lord Tara, his residence there brought 'trouble to that Lord, and no great convenience to himself.' Moreover, his position appeared to his faithful ministers very far from safe.[1] In December 1655 a hint had been conveyed to Armorer from England that Cromwell was retaliating in kind, and had offered large rewards to five persons pledged to assassinate the King. These warnings were now renewed, and in the month of April Charles received information from three different sources that a man named 'Streight' was plotting his murder in collusion with a person in the train of the Dutch Ambassador at Brussels.

One of these warnings came from the Duke of York, with the comment: 'In my opinion you would do well not to neglect such advices, and to have a care of yourself, especially now you have so few with you.'

Nicholas adjured Ormonde to be very careful of 'the King's person,' and Ormonde owned to the opinion that, though 'the advertisement' seemed 'slight,' yet it might be 'needful for his Majesty to be better upon his guard than at other times he hath been.' Even Charles was induced to admit that there 'might be something in it,' and in any case it appeared desirable that he should secure a house of his own, and surround himself with his servants as soon as possible.[2] Hyde recommended him to establish himself in the country or at Diest, remarking that a residence at Bruges or Antwerp would render his incognito condition 'notorious and consequently ridiculous.' At the same time he proposed that 'a private lodging' should be retained at Antwerp, whither the King could resort for brief visits, at frequent intervals,

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 276, 278.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 173, 187; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 79, 108; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 276, 278.

partly to obviate his inevitable ennui, and partly to keep up an appearance of importance and busy negotiation.[1] This plan was made feasible by the generosity of a Portuguese gentleman, Don Francesco Feo, who offered the loan of a house, situated between Antwerp and Mechlin, and described by Lord Dillon as 'the finest and best furnished in all the countrie.'[2] But though the King's would-be host went to some expense in preparing for his reception, the offer was not accepted. A long residence in the country had few attractions for Charles, and he therefore selected a house at Bruges, conveniently situated, 'being private and near all his business.' Its only drawback was its 'uterly unfurnisht' condition, and the King resolved to take possession so soon as that defect could be remedied, a proceeding to which the Annual Fair, then in progress, proved 'a great impediment.'[3]

1656 April Furniture and servants had, of course, to be sent from Cologne. 'I conceive,' wrote Hyde, 'that the King will have need of his bed, and it may be (of) all that furniture which his sister lent him, and his trunks of clothes, and his silver vessels, and therefore I send a couple of passes of such forms as I thought necessary. I pray return them signed.'[4]

In addition to these, Charles required the despatch of his books and his private cabinet that he might the better obey Hyde's admonition to be careful of his papers. 'I shall have a care of my papers,' he protested, 'I would you had given me the same caution for my keys, for I lost them on Good Friday, seeing the procession, and therefore bid Tom Chiffinch make up my cabinet in a canvass, and bring it along with him. . . . Pray take order that all my books be put up carefully in such a trunk as you have for yours, and those that are in other

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 294, April 14, 1656.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 255, May 9, 1656.
[3] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 276, 278.
[4] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 295, April 14, 1656.

people's hands, let them be called for in that they may be packed up all together.'[1]

The Chancellor replied with an assurance that he was the less troubled for the loss of the keys since the seals were safe, and the comment, 'You do very well in letting what you intend to lose be always by itself and unentangled with what you desire to keep.'[2] And in compliance with Charles's directions, he despatched the things required, together with Ormonde's small properties, in the care of Chiffinch and Griffith. Heythwyte, Rose, and Tom Dogg followed with a part of the royal plate; Delves, whom Charles had also summoned, was detained at Cologne by an unpaid and suspicious landlord, but Mrs. Chiffinch accompanied her husband, notwithstanding an express order to remain behind.[3]

'You had too good an opinion of my understanding and discretion when you thought I might prevent Tom Chiffinch bringing his wife with him,' declared Hyde. . . . 'However, I have proceeded according to my laudable custom, and given the woman cause to abhor me with her whole heart, and left her husband to do as she will have him, who is, in truth, the most loving poor wretch in the world.'[4]

Charles was in fact in no hurry to remove his 'family' from Cologne. Taking to heart Hyde's warning that 'your parting fairly in that place will be the best harbinger to prepare your welcome in the next,' he had determined to avoid alarming his creditors by a too sudden withdrawal of his impedimenta. His brother, train, 'plate, linen, and household stuff' were therefore to be left, as it were in pawn, until the debts at Cologne were discharged, and instructions to this effect had been issued to Nicholas on the day after the King's arrival at

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 296, April 17, 1656.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 297, April 21, 1656.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 155, 156, 171; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 114, April 14, 18, 21, 1656.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 175; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 297-298.

Bruges. By these the Secretary was bidden to assure each member of the suite personally, and in the presence of Stephen Fox, of the due payment of their board wages, with full arrears. He was then to prohibit them from leaving Cologne without orders from the King, and to exhort them to 'frequent the public prayers at the usual times, and live both among themselves and with the inhabitants, as if we were there in person.' Finally, if the King's absence and his sending for 'some of the stuff and other necessaries' excited any uneasiness or hostile comment amongst the magistrates and inhabitants of the town, the Council was enjoined 'to lett them know in such manner as you shall think fit, that we intend not as yet to remove our family thence, and when we shall do it we shall give them notice thereof by our letters and take order for a precedent discharge of whatsoever debts may be owing there, either by ourselves or any belonging unto us.'

In a letter addressed to the magistrates of Cologne, which Culpepper was charged to deliver 'in due season,' the King thanked the citizens for their many civilities, protested that he would show himself grateful, if he were ever in a position to do so, and apologised for his abrupt departure. Had he known when he went away that he should not return, he would, he said, have made them his formal thanks and farewells, but since circumstances had prevented him from doing so, he now laid that duty on his brother. Finally he repeated his assurance that Fox, his maître d'hôtel, should remain in the city until all claims were settled.[1] How the promised settlement was to be accomplished remained problematical, though there were many rumours of liberal assistance afforded by Spain. It was reported that Philip IV. had assigned to his new ally an annual pension of £30,000 besides all the confiscated goods of English merchants, and a share of all prizes taken from the English at sea, and had

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 298, 299; *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 208; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 275.

'further appointed a convenient maintenance to every nobleman of his retinue.'[1] Such munificence was so far out of Philip's power that he was unable to fulfil his engagements to his older and more useful ally Condé, who was at this very juncture in desperate straits. His agent, De Barrière, who had been bidden by Cromwell to leave England, found himself unable to do so, lest he should be arrested by his creditors in attempting it, nor could his master rescue him from this dilemma, though he protested that he would willingly shed his blood to do so, pawned his jewels, and daily importuned both Cardenas and Fuensaldanha for money. But in Flanders there was not money enough 'to maintayne the Archduke's and Prince of Condé's kitchings,' and from Spain none could be expected till the Plate Fleet came home.

Even when this desirable event happened, all the money that could be spared from Spain was needed for the next campaign in Flanders, the preparations for which had been rendered sadly inadequate by 'extreme poverty.'[2]

In these circumstances Charles was not surprised to receive a hint that he must somehow exist without assistance during the next three months. But though the reputation of his new alliance enabled him to borrow money at Antwerp for his immediate needs,[3] the payment of his old debts was another and more difficult matter.

Supplies from England had failed since the late persecution of the Cavaliers, and the sum of £1000 previously collected by Sir Robert Shirley had been lost through the dishonesty of the person to whom it had been intrusted. Though Colonel Charles Finch had extracted some new promises of money from private persons, there was danger and difficulty in col-

[1] *Thurloe State Papers*, iv. pp. 641, 722, 723, 748.

[2] *Ibid.*, iv. pp. 540, 567, 591, 613, 618, 641, 657, 658, 677, 692, 714, 738.

[3] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 117.

lecting it, and the aid which Peter Talbot proposed to obtain from Sexby was visionary in the extreme.[1] There remained, however, two sources of revenue, the French pension, and the contributions promised by the German princes, either of which would suffice to discharge the outstanding debts which Fox computed at about £3000. It was hoped that the improvement in Charles's fortunes would induce a readier payment, at least from the Electors of Cologne and Brandenburg, the Landgraves of Hesse and Darmstadt, and the Duke of Würtemberg, whose contributions the Count of Neuburg had undertaken to collect personally. The Duke of Brunswick offered 2000 dollars, and even at Rome Cardinal Barberini proved 'more than ordinarily kind,' and promised to send a present.[2]

But promises were not money, the King's credit was becoming exhausted, and Fox, having paid 'the most importunate debts,' protested, on April 11, that he could not obtain a week's more credit to feed the Duke of Gloucester. Henry's own pension from his sister had not been paid for four months, and it was in vain that he addressed importunate appeals to Heenvliet.[3]

The only hope lay in the French pension, and to the Chancellor's dismay that was no longer forthcoming. In December Jermyn had protested, 'I keep my last effort for your remove.' But as the months passed and solicitations brought 'daily promises' and 'no effects,' it was concluded that the pension had been stopped on account of Charles's negotiations with Spain.[4] Of this Mazarin had obtained news through the correspondence of the Court at Cologne with that of the Palais Royal, and on March 28 Hyde wrote regretfully to the King: 'I am sorry and exceedingly troubled to tell you that the day

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 90; *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 47, 133, 190.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 145, 155; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 294.

[3] *Rawlinson MSS.*, cxv. ff. 132, 133, 135, 138, 144, 147, March-October 1656.

[4] *Thurloe Papers*, i. pp. 690, 691.

before you went from hence the letters to France and the Hague carried the news of your journey and even the names of those who attended you.'[1]

A few days later he had brought the crime home to Dick Harding, 'who inquires after nothing, knows nothing, is pleased with that ignorance and corresponds with nobody,' but felt that the excess of his indignation debarred him from dealing with the situation: 'I had thought to write to Mr. Harding,' he informed Ormonde wrathfully, 'but I am so angry that I should say something that would it may be grieve him, and therefore I commit the matter to you, as to a fyne gentleman who will not offend anybody, though it would make them wiser and better.'[2]

By April 18 news of the unexpected payment of the pension up to the end of March had somewhat abated the Chancellor's wrath, but his joy was shortlived, for the money proved to have been already assigned away by the King; and Jermyn, far from forwarding any to Cologne, declared himself to be actually 1500 pistoles out of pocket.[3]

The dream of paying the debts in full vanished for the time, and Hyde could only appeal for the grant of a little aid to those of the household who were in the greatest need. Of these were Lord Napier, who, with his children, was 'in a very sad condition,' Sir James Hamilton, whose state had long been termed by Ormonde 'very inconvenient'; Dick Bellings, who would 'starve' before he asked for help, and 'poor Robin Phelipps,' who had never yet received anything from the King, and was beset with 'clamorous debts' for 200 dollars, and whose sorrows had been recently aggravated by the death of his only son. As for the Chancellor himself, he owed 100 dollars to Harding, and lacked the means to send his wife to Breda,

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 117, 122, March 28-31, 1656.

[2] *Ibid.*, li. fol. 133, April 4, 1656.

[3] *Ibid.*, li. fol. 171, April 18, 1656; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 115; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 78.

where he was anxious to place her with her mother. These appeals were not made in vain ; the desired relief was afforded to all those named, and even Ormonde's debts were settled in a fashion, which secured to him, as Hyde said, the character of a 'reasonable, fine gentleman, as well as that of an honest man.'[1]

Henry, in the meantime, was growing daily more dissatisfied with his position. From the first he had been eagerly desirous to join his brother at Bruges, and when he derived no hope of this from Charles's letters he did not conceal his chagrin.

'Your brother was a little out of countenance when he found by your letter to him that he was still to stay here, for he depended on nothing more than that the letters of yesterday would have called him to you,' reported Hyde on April 21. 'And he observed—which he thought strange—that in the same letter in which you required his stay here, because you might possibly return to Cologne, you called away two persons from hence, which (he says) you would not have done if you had not thought you should return hither no more. I doubt not you will call him to you as soon as you can find it convenient, so I beseech you keepe up his spirits by writinge frequently to him and assuring him that he shall remayne no longer from you than is absolutely necessary.'[2]

Charles replied that he could not yet send for his brother, because he was still without a house, and not even certain that he should remain in Bruges, where 'houses, lodgeings and furniture are had with more difficulty than at Cologne.' But at the same time he summoned Blague and Elliot, with several others, to rejoin him, whereat Henry's impatience was still further increased. He had some excuse for it, in that his landlady had given him notice to quit her house by the 31st of May. This was subsequently retracted, but neither an

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. fol. 149 ; li. ff. 122, 178, 206, 244 ; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 108, 110, 117, 119.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 175, April 21, 1656.

invitation from the Consuls to a banquet in the State House, on April 22, nor the 'strange civility' commonly shown to the exiles in Cologne could reconcile Henry to his fate. He continued to plead for leave to follow his brother, and his persistence at last wrung from Charles a reluctant consent. 'I have at last, upon my brother's importunity, permitted him to come,' he informed Hyde, 'but withal I have advised him to order the matter so as to be sure his furniture be here before him, my house being totally unfurnisht, and no possibility of fitting it in this place.' And Ormonde added a warning to the same effect: 'It will be convenient if hee cast it so that the hangings may be here before him, els hee will bee put to lodge very ill-favourably.'[1] 1656 May

Henry came to Bruges accompanied by Culpepper and the reluctant Nicholas, who had prophesied the removal as early as the previous October, 'because this always happens, when I get settled in a place.'[2] The Chancellor, who would have been more welcome to Charles than either of the others, had already gone to Breda. He had pleaded for leave of absence from the time of the King's departure to Flanders, but his plea had been refused on the ground that his presence would be indispensable if the King returned to Cologne, and that in any case his guardianship was needed by Henry. 'This is a hard chapter, and I must ask my lady's pardon for it,' confessed Charles.[3] And Hyde did not disguise from Ormonde that he felt himself aggrieved. In the beginning of April he arranged to send his wife to Breda in the care of Sir John Mennes, and remained for some weeks longer at Cologne, suffering severely from poor man's gout.[4] The Chancellor's unfortunate stoutness was a standing joke among the exiles, and Charles did not fail to appreciate the point when Hyde indicated the

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 276, 278; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 114, 126; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 299.

[2] *Holland Papers*, R. O., Nicholas to Jane, October 2-12, 1655.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 117, 122, 126.

[4] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 108.

ravages of disease by the statement that he could now wear 'Harry's doublets.'

In reply, he expressed a hope that he would speedily recover his natural size, 'which I find by yours to my Lord Lieutenant to be much diminished, since you say you can put on one of Harry's doublets, which I cannot understand to be any one's but Harry Wilmot's.' Wherein the King seems to have been strangely at fault, for the Chancellor was scarcely so familiar with Rochester as to call him by his Christian name, and doubtless meant by 'Harry' his own son, Henry Hyde. Before the end of April he was sufficiently recovered to be 'put into a boat,' and the desired permission being at last accorded, he set out for Breda on Tuesday, April 25, arriving there on Saturday, May 1.[1]

As his near neighbourhood made a frequent correspondence with the King easy, he implored Ormonde to delay his recall as long as possible, protesting that when the dreaded summons came he would start within the hour.[2]

Hyde's family affection has been questioned, but the fact that he chose at this juncture to remain with his wife, rather than gratify the King's undisguised impatience for his return, is some proof of conjugal devotion.

That he was sorely torn between private affairs and public duty there can be no doubt, and anxiety breathes in every line penned by him at this juncture. Now was the time to impress a world to which the King was yet an unknown quantity. A fresh start had been obtained, 'a new factory' begun, which might 'prove again full trade'; in such a crisis Charles must make no false step, and yet his path was full of pitfalls through which the Chancellor alone could safely guide him.[3]

To check the general 'licence of writing and speaking'[4] was unfortunately impossible, but the King's choice of

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 122, 126, 145, 171; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 115; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 298.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 171, 206; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 114.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 245.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 206.

companions was a matter of primary importance, and over this Hyde kept a watchful eye. We find him detaining some one, probably Elliot, at Cologne, because he talked overmuch; successfully intercepting William Sands in Holland, and quashing Charles's suggestion of sending for Balcarres with the remark that it showed him curiously indifferent to his own ease.[1]

'If the King do not take care to let people see that he will not be even served in speight of his teeth, nor other ways than in his own judgment he thinks fit, he will be put to the more inconveniences,' he observed to Ormonde.[2]

And to Charles himself he addressed a very serious exhortation:

'You will pardon me, who can have no private end in it, for putting you in mind that the eyes of all men are upon you; your oppression is known, your title is known, but your nature is not known; it is severally represented, and it is that which men are most inquisitive and solicitous to understand, and upon the manifestation whereof most of your good or ill fortune will be founded. You have yet few servants in comparison of the number that must hereafter attend you, and assure yourself the rule that both the present, and they who are to come must propose to themselves to form their duty and demeanour by, will be the observation of your different carriage toward your servants, and your discountenance of those who serve you not as they ought to do. And if you do not really and sensibly find more ease and quiet to yourself to flow from one day's clear and frank declaring your purposes and resolutions, both with reference to things and persons, than by all the reservation you can use, how dexterous soever, to leave people to believe that you intend what you do not intend, or that you like, or do not consider, that which you do absolutely dislike and abhor, I will gladly submit to any penalty you will impose.'[3]

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 114, 115, 117, 123, 126.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 145, April 11, 1656.
[3] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 297.

The text of all this eloquence was the Duke of Buckingham, who had returned to intrigue with Levellers and Presbyterians in Flanders, and was reported to be in 'great dearness' with Sexby, Titus, and Massey.[1] Hyde lived in daily terror of his joining the King and recovering his old influence, but instead of this he came to Breda, where he 'displayed a thousand crotchets,' 'talked big,' and appeared 'wonderfully uneasy.' It was evident that he expected a visit from the Chancellor, but this was refused, notwithstanding the urgency of Titus, who professed 'a great value' for him, and the Duke eventually departed in deep offence.[2]

But though the danger from Buckingham was past or postponed, the Chancellor was by no means freed from his troubles. The alliance with Spain had of course given rise to religious 'scandals,' and of these the enemy took full advantage. From Paris came a report that the English Queen had formally announced her eldest son's conversion to the Church of Rome, and a few days later 'the damnable prints at the Hague' contained the same story, with details 'not crowded in by chance.'[3]

Hyde met this attack by advising the King to send for Dr. Earles, whose ministrations had been too long forgone, adding private injunctions to Ormonde to see that the Chaplain made one of the train 'in all journeys,' and his anxiety in this respect was assuaged by Earles's arrival at Bruges on Friday, May 5.[4]

It remained to prepare for a new rising in England, to frustrate the machinations of the Levellers in England and Spain, to watch over the intrigues of Peter Talbot with the Levellers, Spain and Rome, to consider and

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 114; *Thurloe*, iv. p. 658.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 194, 122; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 114; *Thurloe*, iv. p. 658.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 206; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 298; *Thurloe*, iv. pp. 690, 694.

[4] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 294; *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 206, 242.

settle the affairs of the Irish regiments and of the Stuarts still in France, and, most important of all, to conclude and amplify the treaty with Spain.

Though well pleased with what he had gained, Charles was far from satisfied with it. Assurance of a new 'intrigue among the seamen' had revived his desire for the opening of the ports, to which the Spaniards opposed the reasonable objection that, in making the concession, they would expose their ports to the entrance of hostile vessels, on a false pretence of rendering themselves to the King! They were, moreover, alarmed by the over-zeal of De Vic, who demanded the establishment of an independent Admiralty Court for the King's ships, and liberty for them to make prize of the Spaniards' allies. This naturally met with a prompt refusal, softened by polite excuses, and the grant of special privileges to Stephens, who had been appointed Charles's deputy at Dunkirk, and the whole question was postponed till the arrival of the new governor of the Spanish Netherlands, Don Juan of Austria.[1]

In much vexation, Hyde bade De Vic withdraw demands which have never been intended by the King and assure the Spaniards that no more was desired than the admission of Royalist ships to their ports, for their mutual advantage against the common enemy. Once the main points were gained, questions of administration could be settled as most agreeable to Spain![2]

It was, however, a lesser matter, the difficulty of addressing a letter to Don Juan, that finally convinced the King of the impossibility of existing without the Chancellor. He was rescued from his immediate dilemma by Ormonde's thoughtfulness in preserving the style and title of the Archduke, which was the same as that required by Don Juan. But not even Ormonde could supply the

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 175, 215, 222, 249, 295; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 97, 115, 118, 128.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 222; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 140, 142.

place of Hyde, to whom Charles now despatched a characteristic summons. 'Make as much haste as your gouty feet will give you leave to me,' he adjured, and lest this should not be fast enough, he bade him send his book of 'inscriptions, subscriptions, and superscriptions' in advance, 'that I be no more inconvenienced nor you more cursed for the want of it.' Ormonde, in an accompanying letter, assured his friend that the recall had only been delayed thus long by his own efforts, and that the 'best dispensation' for a longer absence would be the procuring of a supply of money.[1]

On this excuse the Chancellor lingered a week longer, announcing his intended return to Antwerp by waggon on Monday, May 15, and promising to bring with him money sufficient to defray 'all charges' for the next six months.[2]

1656 May

His arrival had been preceded by that of the long-expected Don Juan, natural son of Philip IV. and the actress, Maria Calderona. Having dined with the Archduke near Montaigne, and supped with Condé at Louvain, on Thursday, May 11, he made his formal entry into Brussels on the following day, appointed Cardenas his intendant of affairs, and busied himself in 'forming his Court,' while France and Flanders waited expectant 'to see the metal of Don John of Austria.'[3] The first impression created by the new governor was favourable. Though small in stature he was well-made, passably good-looking, and 'endued with very good natural parts, as well as courage.' His vivacious manners contrasted advantageously with the abstracted air of the Archduke, and the discovery that he was not devoted to the society of Jesuits, and preferred tennis 'at which he toiled himself very much' to visiting shrines of the Madonna, gave general satisfaction. On the other hand he was much addicted to astrology and more 'disposed to laziness

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 244, May 7, 1656.
[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 128, May 10, 1656.
[3] *Ibid.*, iii. p. 129, May 11, 1656; *Thurloe*, iv. pp. 751, 760.

and music' than befitted his difficult position, while his 'misfortune' in being 'educated as a son of Spain' had produced in him an exaggerated pride which must sooner or later prove a stumbling block.[1]

At the first these faults did not appear. Don Juan showed himself 'wise, courageous, and civil to all,' seemed 'well-pleased' with Condé, and gave 'very great content' to all his visitors.

'We shall see shortly how the effects will answer his aspect,' observed the Venetian agent. For a time they answered it very well. Don Juan's first act, the abolition of certain taxes, gave him an immediate popularity, and this was confirmed by his successes in the field.

'The people of this country are so satisfied with their new governors that they give them cheerfully all that is asked of them,' reported a resident in Brussels.[2]

To the exiled Royalists the character of the new viceroy, whose goodwill was essential to all their schemes, was hardly less important than it was to the Flemings, and Taafe, who happened to be in Brussels at the time of his arrival, essayed to prepare the way for a good understanding with his master. On a hint from Don Alonso that the King should now come to Brussels incognito, Taafe visited Don Juan, and received from him assurance of his desire to make Charles's acquaintance before he set out on his campaign.[3] This assurance Taafe conveyed at once to Ormonde, who had come to meet Hyde at Antwerp, and Ormonde thereupon hastened with O'Neil to Brussels in order to arrange the meeting, and incidentally settle several other questions. Don Alonso received him 'very kindly' telling him that Don Luis had declared himself his friend, but the conversation took place under difficulties, since neither could

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. 46; *De Montpensier* (Chéruel), iii. pp. 361-363; *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 311; *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 313.

[2] *Thurloe*, v. pp. 8, 55, 199, 288.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 293, May 18, 1656.

speak the language of the other, and the French of both was indifferent.

Hyde had hoped that 'a free conference between these two might accomplish much, but his hope was speedily proved vain.'[1] The mention of the ports was met with the usual objection; the question of James's stay in France was referred to Don Juan, and though Ormonde understood the other to propose the withdrawal of the Irish from France, he was not even sure of this.

'But lest I may have mistaken him, or he mee, which is not hard considering our French, I meane to write to him about it,'[2] he told Hyde. And in the meantime he devoted his energies to settling the preliminaries of the desired meeting, which he found to be really intended. Charles's agents had at first demurred to Don Juan's demand to be treated in all respects as a legitimate son of Spain, but on an intimation that all the King's business would pass through his hands, and that it was the Spanish custom to make no distinction between the legitimate and illegitimate sons of the sovereign, they waived their objections. On May 23 Ormonde undertook that the King should give his hand to Don Juan, salute him as 'Altesse' and 'monsieur mon cousin,' and treat him in all respects as he had treated the Archduke. Don Juan then wrote to Charles, expressing a desire to serve him. On the next day Ormonde retired to Mechlin, announcing that he and his companion were 'foully out of purs,' and on May 25 he joined the King at the house of Don Francesco Feo.[3] On the 27th they were visited by the Marquis de Caracena, who had taken Fuensaldanha's place as general of the forces, and a few days later Charles went privately to Brussels, where he met Don Juan in 'the little house in the Park,' at which he had formerly met the Archduke.[4]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li., May 10, 1656, Hyde to Ormonde

[2] *Ibid.*, li. fol. 295, May 19, 1656.

[3] *Ibid.*, li. fol. 307, May 22, 1656; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 135, May 23, 1656.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 313, May 23, 1656.

By Ormonde's advice he also visited the Princesse de Condé, but to the Prince himself he thought it unwise to make advances. Condé's attitude was still uncertain. Lenet, De Marchin, and other members of his household had assured De Vic and Seestadt of his goodwill, and he himself had protested to Taafe an ardent desire for the English King's affection, 'which he said was too glorious a thing to expect.' But, for all this, his political agent lingered in England, and Talbot had declared, some time previously, that 'Condé and his' were 'mad' at the prospect of the English King coming to Brussels. Moreover, Langdale had deprecated any overtures to the French Prince, as ill-calculated to please Spain, 'for they are mistaken that think the Spaniards have any other esteem or value of the Prince further than to serve themselves of him,'[1] he asserted.

For all these reasons Charles judged it best not to force himself upon his French relative, but he had good cause to be satisfied with the Spanish Ministers who had accorded him 'all manner of civility and favourable reception,' and he returned from Brussels 'very merry' and confident of obtaining all that he asked of Spain.[2] 1656 July
His confidence was increased in July by the arrival of the ratified treaty from Madrid,[3] with kind letters from the King and Don Luis. With them came what was of even more importance, the promise of a monthly allowance of 6000 guilders for the King, and of half as much per month for his brother Henry. For the small amount of the sum promised Don Juan offered profuse apologies, protesting that it was 'as much as their necessities would bear,' and assuring Charles that 'the smallness should be recompensed by the punctuality of the payment.'[4]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 293; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 290, 321; iii. p. 189; *Thurloe Papers*, i. pp. 699, 702; iv. p. 618; *Carte MSS.*, cxxxi. fol. 197.

[2] *Thurloe*, v. pp. 55, 119.

[3] Ratified June 5, 1656.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. ff. 8, 12, 97; *Clarendon*, *History*, xvi. p. 67; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 138.

Punctuality of payment was, in point of fact, as much out of Spain's power as was any show of munificence. A hint conveyed through Peter Talbot had already informed Charles that all applications for money must be made at Madrid, and not in Flanders where the 'necessities' were 'many and urgent,' and in any case the pension was not retrospective, and no payment would be made until the middle of August.[1]

On conclusion of the treaty between France and England, the names of the Stuarts had been blotted out of the French pension list,[2] and though payment had since been made secretly, it could not be expected to continue after Charles's alliance with Spain. Of this Mazarin had complained so sharply to Jermyn that Charles hastened to anticipate the withdrawal of his pension by the announcement, 'I do not purpose for the time to come to receive any pension by the Cardinal's means, until I shall be better understood than I find I am,' and addressed to Jermyn resentful reflections on the Cardinal's unreasonableness. 'I wish you should tell him that a man who has thought a necessity of his own making warrant enough for such proceedings against me as no necessity could in truth excuse, should allow a reall visible necessity, which he cannot but discern, a good justification of my doing what all the world would laugh at me if I did not do. And you shall do well to put him in minde that I am not yet so low but that I may return both the courtesies and injuryes I have received.'[3]

As a result of all this Charles found himself in Flanders three months in arrears, and still burdened with the debts at Cologne. He, therefore, experienced considerable difficulty in making a decent show, yet we find him writing to Bennett at Paris:

1656 July 'I have nothing to say, only that you bespeak 6 pair

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 144, 160.

[2] *Thurloe*, iv. p. 357.

[3] *Ibid.*, i. p. 661, September 29, 1656; *Camden Miscellany*, v. p. 10.

of shoes of my Paris shoemaker, such as he sent me last, and as many pair more made by Dyke, but tell this latter that three pair must be black and the other coloured, and a little bigger than those he sent me last.' Later he desired 'two Bever hats' and yet another sword, concerning which he was as fastidious as ever, 'For my lord of Bristol's sword I do by no means like it, therefore do not bespeak mine of that fashion.'[1]

He had already procured a coach, a luxury which he had not possessed since he quitted France in 1654, and his most immediate want was 'seven good horses.' In May he wrote to Hyde at Breda: 'I have one more thing to recommend, principally to yourself, which is the getting—if it be possible—a set of coach horses, which, at this present, I had rather have than so much ready money.'[2]

The horses were obtained, though four at least were still unpaid for in July of the following year. But neither the 'infamous debt at Cologne,' nor any other, weighed much on Charles's spirits.[3] He had found a new mistress according to Taafe, who assured him that he could not fail to succumb to the charms of Mlle. D'Imercell of the Brussels Court, 'if your Majesty be libre, which Mme. Renenbourg saies you are nott, having gott a new wan at Briges.'[4]

Also he enjoyed occasionally the inspiring company of Hannibal Seestadt, and of other distinguished strangers of various nationalities, while the friendliness and hospitality of the Flemings themselves caused him to remember them ever after with affection and gratitude. In June he and his brother attended the festivals of two societies of archers, at which they were honoured and welcome guests, offers of hospitality were many and generous, and, 1656 July-Aug.

[1] *Thurloe*, v. p. 95; *Miscellanea Aulica*, pp. 127, 128, July 7, August 11, 1656.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 244; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 299.

[3] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 336.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 293.

for a couple of months, Charles dwelt at Bruges, contentedly enough, notwithstanding his 'poor condition and equipage.'[1]

His enemies would fain have believed him forgotten by Spain and deserted by his adherents,[2] but their assertions to this effect were scarcely borne out by facts. Hyde's power and unpopularity were as great as ever, but, though they produced complaints and discontent, and even a revival of the old foolish story about his correspondence with Cromwell, they did not deter English, Irish, and Scots from gathering around the King. Middleton, now 'become a great detester of the Covenant,' had been among the first to join him, and at the beginning of July he had with him, besides Ormonde, Rochester, Nicholas, and Hyde, the Colonels Sydenham, Carlos, Placketer, and Borthwick, Major Borthwick, Major Stone, Sir Edward Walker, Herbert Price, Robert Phelipps, Dick Harding, and George Lane. In August Bristol came from France, and Charles was also joined by the Scots, Whitford, Turner, and Robert Moray, while Balcarres was daily expected. The Court 'waxed' rapidly, and with regard to other matters even the malcontent Royalists in France admitted that the Spaniards dealt 'justly and kindly,' that Ormonde wrote 'very comfortably' of the King's prospects, and that all at Bruges seemed 'much satisfied.'[3]

As a matter of fact the Spaniards were greatly elated by their military successes in Italy and Flanders, and particularly by Don Juan's victory at Valenciennes, where he completely routed the French forces and raised the siege of the town. This success materially strengthened Don Juan's position, and had considerable moral effect on the disheartened Flemings and Spaniards. It was anticipated that Spain would now abandon her

[1] *Thurloe*, v. p. 141.

[2] *Ibid.*, v. pp. 141, 229, 244, 250, 255, 257, 315.

[3] *Ibid.*, v. pp. 4, 8, 36, 84, 160, 227, 265, 315; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 139, 169; *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 34.

cautious policy and publish her alliance with Charles, and 'some foolish, mad, idle astronomers,' actually calculated the King of Spain's success from his reception of the King of Scots.[1] The Cavaliers 'bragged' much of this, and Charles seized the opportunity to plead afresh for the abrogation of his incognito, and the opening of the ports. For this purpose Hyde was sent to Brussels in July, with additional instructions to arrange the withdrawal of James from France, and to obtain a definite sanction of the King's purpose to raise an army of his own.[2]

It had been Charles's intention from the first to imitate Condé and Lorraine in this respect, and Peter Talbot had encouraged him to expect an easy acquiescence from the Spaniards. But Spain, too poor to equip her own forces, was unable to find money and quarters for those of Charles, and had moreover suffered too much from her military allies to wish for the establishment of a third independent army on her territory.[3] Yet she was naturally desirous of filling the gap left by the secession of Lorraine, and the opportunity of accomplishing this by drawing forces from her adversary was too tempting to be rejected. The matter remained in abeyance. From time to time the Ministers intimated directly, or through Peter Talbot, that it would be well to summon James and the Irish troops to Flanders, but as no preparations were made for their reception Charles merely answered that it should be done, and took no active steps in the matter.[4] 1656 May

His subjects were more impatient, and before he had been many weeks in Flanders the indefatigable Talbots were busy with schemes for recruiting the projected army.

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 190, 198, 207, 208, 227, 256, 262, 325.
[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 147, 148, 152.
[3] *Thurloe*, v. p. 280.
[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 244, 295; lii. fol. 125; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 133; *Thurloe*, v. p. 8.

Gilbert and Richard, being commissioned to raise troops of horse by Spain, established a rendezvous at Ghent, whither the Irish flocked from all parts;[1] and
1656 June in June the nucleus of a Royalist army was formed at Bruges by the arrival of Captain Godfrey Lloyd and six Irish troopers, deserters from the army of Turenne. Rather than lose these first fruits, Charles actually saved Lloyd's honour by repaying the thousand crowns wherewith France had furnished him for the summer campaign, and undertook the support of the troopers at sixpence a day.[2] But, as he frankly declared to Don Alonso, the continuance of such expenses was entirely out of his power, and it was in the hope of arriving at some definite agreement that he sent his Chancellor to Brussels in July.

July 25 Hyde reached the capital late on the night of July 25, and established himself in the lodgings formerly occupied by Ormonde, where, in the absence of that 'very skilful housekeeper,' O'Neil, he was badly used by his landlady.[3] He was at once visited by De Vic, and on the next morning by Peter Talbot, after which he sent word of his arrival to Egidio Mottet, Don Alonso's secretary.[4] That same afternoon he saw Don Alonso himself, to whom he presented a memorial concerning all the points at issue. This expressed, in the King's name, gratitude for the conclusion of the treaty and owned the necessity for secrecy as to its clauses, but submitted that a public recognition of the alliance was now required to raise the spirits of the King's adherents and impress foreign powers. The abrogation of the incognito, and the opening of the ports, permission to grant passes between Gravelines and Calais, and the assignment of quarters for the King's regiments were there-

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 190, 226; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 129, 148; *Carte MSS.*, ccxiii. fol. 78.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. ff. 34, 52; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 169.
[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 118, July 28, 1656.
[4] *Ibid.*, lii. fol. 116, July 28, 1656.

fore requested, and it was further desired that steps might be taken for the withdrawal of James and the Irish troops from France. In a private letter to Mottet, Hyde added that 'the posture of incognito' was 'very melancholy' to the King, and gave colour to the French statement that he was only in Flanders on sufferance. This he again supplemented by a paper of 'Considerations worthy to be weighed in the business of the Irish.'[1]

Alonso promised, in reply, to forward these papers to Don Juan, to whom all was referred, but before an answer could be received, O'Neil appeared with a demand for Hyde's instant return to Court, where a messenger had arrived on secret business from England; wherefore Hyde excused himself to Don Alonso, and returned to Bruges on Sunday, July 30.[2]

His report decided Charles in favour of a direct negotiation with Don Juan, and this time it was Ormonde who undertook the mission. Setting out from Bruges on Tuesday, August 1, he reached Tournay on August 3, when he discovered that he had left all his ciphers at Valenciennes. George Lane was at once sent back in search of them, and the Marquis confessed his carelessness to the King, requesting that it might be concealed from Hyde. 'I must conclude with begging your pardon for a fault, and—as Toby did—that you would not speak of it, especially to Mr. Chancellor. The matter is, that betwixt Dennis and I we have left my box, in which my ciphers were, at Valenciennes, which he was pleased not to remember until we were upon the market place here.'[3] 1656 August

A little disconcerted by this mishap, he proceeded to the Spanish camp before Condé, in French Flanders, where he was welcomed with extreme civility by Caracena.[4]

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 303, July 27, 1656; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 149, 150.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 301; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 151, 153.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 144, August 7, 1656.

[4] *Ibid.*, lii. fol. 146; *Clarendon, History*, xv. p. 71; *Thurloe*, v. p. 316.

As the Spanish general was about to attend Don Juan, he invited the Irish Marquis to rest in his tent until his return, which took place in about an hour. The two then held a private conference, after which Ormonde proceeded to Don Juan, to whom he presented a letter from the King. Don Juan spoke to him courteously, but denied having received any papers from Don Alonso, and desired Ormonde to set down all his demands in writing. As this involved translating copies of all the letters previously sent to Alonso into French, Ormonde retired to Valenciennes, in search of leisure and quiet. The task took him a whole day, and when the letters were sent to the camp by Dick Belling, Don Juan returned answer that he was too busy to attend to them, and referred all back to Don Alonso, whose arrival was shortly expected.

This was a serious blow, for Ormonde's slight resources were already nearly exhausted, and accordingly he wrote to Hyde:

'Though you may be unwilling to hear it and ready to call us prodigals, I must tell you the half of our money is gone, and our hackney horses—which I return to save charges, and trust to Providence to get home—not payd for. Consider how long it is possible it may be before Don Alonso's pace will bring him to the army, and how long after I may stay, and accordingly find means to supply me.'[1] Before the reception of this letter, Hyde had despatched O'Neil with fresh instructions for his colleague, urging him to press for a declaration about the ports and the abolition of the incognito. As an inducement to this, he was to point out that the 'inconvenient obscurity' involved payment of excise and other taxes, from which many of the King's subjects, notably Hopton and Newcastle, had been expressly exempted. Also 'the unwholesomeness' of Bruges, and the desirability of a nearer proximity to Brussels were to be represented, with an indication of Mechlin as a

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 146.

desirable place of residence, and an immediate supply of money was to be demanded as absolutely indispensable.[1]

In his reply of the following day, Ormonde assured the Chancellor that he had already prepared papers pressing the declaration about the ports, hoped to procure letters bidding the magistrates of Bruges 'treat the King in his proper quality,' and intended to obtain money or to be 'flatly refused.'

'Nor do you feare my modesty,' he concluded, 'for I meane to disguise nothing of the miserableness of the King's condition, nor forbeare to tell them where the shame will lie if he continues so, after they have permitted him to publish their Master's conjunction with him, which hath taken from him the only certain supply he had.'[2] He proposed also to lay before the Ministers a suggestion from Sir George Carteret for obtaining possession of Jersey, and a delay in the despatch of his letter, consequent on the impossibility of procuring a messenger, enabled him to add to it the announcement of Don Alonso's arrival on August 12.[3]

A meeting took place on the same day, and long conferences between Ormonde, Caracena, and Alonso ensued. On two points Ormonde failed altogether—'For the pension they will not, I feare, bee brought to look further back than this month, and what it is I cannot draw from them,' he reported. In short, no money could be hoped for before September, and on the question of the incognito the Spaniards were obdurate.

'In the matter of owning the King they are obstinate as not suiting with their Master's greatness or honour to do it by halves.' And Alonso added to Peter Talbot that 'It was never heard of that a King should be in the Spanish dominions publicly acknowledged, and not bee treated with pompe.'[4]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. ff. 141, 148. [2] *i.e.* The French Pension.
[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 160; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 157.
[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. ff. 158, 168.

The financial condition of Spain put 'pomp' out of the question, but regarding the ports there was better success, and on August 14 Don Juan actually issued orders to the governors to welcome and assist all vessels sailing under Charles's commission 'comme l'intention du Roi Monseigneur est de se témoigner toute sorte d'affection au Seigneur Roi de la Grande Bretagne.'

This declaration was, by Hyde's care, printed at Bruges, and circulated in Holland and elsewhere.[1]

Charles's first and most urgent requirement, a refuge for his ships, was thus attained; it remained to secure a welcome for his troops in Flanders. This proved an even harder task, but with much pressure and insistence, Ormonde at last wrung from the Spaniards a reluctant consent to the raising of four regiments, and a still more reluctant promise of some contribution towards their pay and maintenance, on condition that they marched with the Spanish army until required by the King. Though the details were left unsettled Charles agreed to at once begin the work of drawing off the Irish from France, a proceeding for which Ormonde's presence in the Spanish army afforded excellent opportunity. In the garrison of Condé, now besieged by Don Juan, there were, besides some companies of Swiss Guards and several French regiments, two Irish regiments commanded respectively by Colonel Sir James D'Arcy and by Ormonde's nephew, Cormac MacCarty.[2]

When, therefore, the town capitulated on August 18, and the garrison was suffered to march out with the honours of war, Ormonde sent Dick Belling to inform the two Irish Colonels that the King required them to join him immediately, with all their men. As they had entered the French service on the well-defined condition that they were to quit it whenever their own King saw fit to summon them, there was no dishonour in so doing,

[1] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Aug. 14, 1656; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 160, 168.

[2] Constantly miscalled 'Muskerry,' his father's title.

CHARLES II.

From the engraving in the British Museum by Boel, after the portrait by Cocques.

but they were pledged to ask a permission, which France was pledged not to refuse, and rather to Ormonde's annoyance they refused to obey his orders thus summarily.[1]

'They answered that they and their regiments were ready to obey the King's orders, and to come to him in any condition, and against all the world, but they besought him they might do it like men of honour, which they could not do but by demanding their passes in pursuance of the obligation that was upon them, not to quit the French service without it, and which besides that it was in their capitulation that they should observe on their King's sending for them, and their desire—the Cardinal had of late promised them, together with means to carry them and their men to any place the King should apoint them.' And they therefore demanded the King's orders in writing, that they might be shown when the passes were asked.

Ormonde, who had less faith in the Cardinal than had his countrymen, and feared lest their obstinacy might injure the King in Spanish eyes, sought a personal interview with them to represent that the 'formalities' of asking leave might be dispensed with at the cost of a month's pay. But all his arguments were without avail; nothing would induce the Irish Colonels to join the Spanish army before they had taken a formal leave of France, nor would MacCarty admit for a moment that there was any fear of foul play from the Cardinal. Though he conceived himself bound to ask for his pass, Mazarin was, he said, no less bound to grant it, 'and when he had done his part he was very confident the Cardinal would not break his word with him; but if he should, he would get nothing by it, for he knew his men would follow him whithersoever he went.' Within six weeks he promised to return, without fail, and if quarters were duly assigned to his men, they should not be long behind him.

[1] *Carte MSS.*, xxx. fol. 398.

Ormonde could only hand over the King's orders, bidding Colonel MacCarty and Sir James D'Arcy repair with their regiments to Bruges, where quarters and provision awaited them, and report the result of his mission to Don Juan. Fortunately Don Juan was well able to appreciate the chivalrous punctilio of the Irishmen, and was so far from resenting their conduct that he interposed no objection to it, and ever after evinced a particular 'esteem' for them.[1]

Ormonde returned to Bruges on Wednesday, August 23, 'with much content,' and the Irish regiments marched away with the rest of the French garrison. On arriving in France D'Arcy decided to stay there, but MacCarty, having settled his men in their quarters, rode to Paris to seek his dismissal from the Cardinal. Mazarin received him 'with extraordinary grace,' and 'by all imaginable caresses and promises of a pension, endeavoured to divert him from the inclination' to obey his master. He would, he protested, freely and willingly grant a pass to any Irishman who went to serve the King, but Ormonde was at the moment merely recruiting for Spain. When the right time arrived MacCarty's regiment should be despatched to the King's service in far better condition than it now enjoyed. From blandishments he turned to reproaches, but finding that nothing could shake the young colonel's resolution, he finally accorded him the desired pass for himself, absolutely refusing to permit the departure of the regiment, on the plea that to serve Spain was not to serve the English King, who could neither use the regiment nor pay it. MacCarty thereupon returned to his quarters, gave the needful directions to his men and set out for Flanders with a few servants only. Arriving at Brussels he demanded the promised quarters, and these being obtained his men 'behaved themselves so that by sixes and sevens his whole regiment,

[1] *Thurloe State Papers*, v. pp. 273, 306, 307; *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 176, August 19, 1656; *Clarendon, History*, xv. 71-74; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, xxxi. p. 163.

officers and soldiers, to the number of very near 800, came to the place assigned them and brought their arms with them; which the Spaniard was amazed at and ever after very much valued him, and took as much care for the preservation of that regiment as of any that was in their service.'[1]

Mazarin's point of view was naturally different, and he expressed it freely to Oliver D'Arcy, Roman Catholic Bishop of Dromore, then acting as chaplain to the Irish forces at St. Ghislain.

It was, he said, incredible that Charles, who had been formerly so well received in France, and even now drew a pension from that crown, could have had any hand in the recent attempt to detach the Irish from their present service. Doubtless the act was that of private persons, who out of 'indiscreet zeal' and 'partiality for Spain' had been led to 'disserve their master rather than serve him,' by such machinations. 'Mais, Dieu merci, leurs sollicitations ont été jusqu'ici inutiles,' he concluded. D'Arcy and MacCarty had declined to obey the summons, and doubtless the Colonels Grace and Dillon were well satisfied at St. Ghislain, while all the Irish troops might be confident of the best of treatment in France. The Irish Bishop forwarded Mazarin's letter to Ormonde with a request for instructions, and through him Ormonde returned a dignified reply to the Cardinal, which he desired might be made as public as the attack had been. Enclosing the orders addressed by the King to the Irish Colonels at Condé, he recited what had passed between himself and them, recalled the conditions under which they served France, and informed the Bishop that Mazarin had not adhered strictly to truth either in regard to MacCarty's conduct, or to the King's ingratitude. The former had already demanded his pass, and as for the King, France was so far from cherishing him as described, that she had banished him from her

1656 September

[1] Carte's *Ormonde*, iii. pp. 636-654; *Memoirs of James II.*, i. pp. 275, 276, 278; *Clarendon*, lii. fol. 290.

territory and formed an alliance with the murderers of his father, and of the Irish nation. Concerning his pension, Ormonde observed, 'It falls not within my province of his business to know when or from whence he receives money,' and he wound up with an expression of resentment for Mazarin's personal attack on himself. 'I cannot but wonder so great and wise a minister as his Eminence should—to serve any present turne, how important soever—make use of such artifices, as are not only liable to present and palpable detection and refutation, but (are) in ye last degree injurious to the honour and reputation of a servant that hath punctually observed and not at all exceeded his Master's commands. I thinke I know what is due from me to the first minister of a great King, and I am sure there is no man shall, upon all occasions, treat him with more respect, but I shall then expect to be treated also like a gentleman, and not to be charged with an indiscreet zeale, nor with acting without warrant . . . as I am by his Eminence, to whom, as I owe no account of my discretion, so I take him to be always an incompetent judge of my fidelity, and, at this time, no very proper one of what is good or bad for my master's service.'[1]

1656 August

Mazarin's wrath at the defection of Cormac MacCarty was doubtless accentuated by the knowledge that this was but the preliminary to further losses. Charles's intention to withdraw the Irish troops from France was now made manifest, and to accomplish this he had but to summon his brother James to his side, and require him to enter the Spanish army.[2] It was a foregone conclusion that the Irish regiments would follow their Duke, and it therefore became the Cardinal's earnest endeavour to retain James of York in the service of his own Sovereign.

In this he had the support of James himself, who had

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. ff. 224, 226, 240, 243; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 306, 307.

[2] *Carte MSS.*, ccxiii. fol. 38; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 375.

not the least desire to exchange his congenial life in France for a precarious existence in Flanders. An active and enthusiastic soldier, James entertained no objection to earning his living by his sword, but he cared very greatly that that sword should be drawn under the command of the great Turenne. For his general the young Duke had conceived an ardent hero worship, which was repaid with sincere friendship and unfailing kindness; there was a close companionship between the two, and the older man, who 'saw not clearly at a distance,' often found the keen sight of his young friend useful to him. With his equals and subordinates James was extremely popular; his courage, zeal, and, it must be presumed, a certain geniality, endeared him to his men and brother officers alike, and he on his side regarded his comrades with both affection and respect.[1] In the intervals of campaigning he found a cordial welcome at the French Court, where he was no longer a penniless exile, but a useful and gallant officer, on whom depended the adherence of many valuable regiments. The Queen-Mother lavished presents and kind words upon him, his cousin Louis gave him a warm friendship, and the Cardinal flattered and caressed him. Moreover, he was no longer debarred by poverty from the amusements of his contemporaries, for he had by the year 1655 attained the rank of lieutenant-general, and his pay, 6000 pistoles[2] per annum, now enabled him to live 'with ease and decency.'[3] Consequently Charles's frequent but fitful attempts to lure his brother away proved unsuccessful, and James continued in the French army until the treaty between France and England had actually been concluded.[4] By this treaty, signed on November 3, 1655,

1655 November

[1] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. pp. 107, 122, 187; *Nicholas Papers*, i. p. 29; *Evelyn*, iv. p. 298.

[2] About £4500.

[3] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 270; *Miscellanea Aulica*, pp. 111, 122; *Thurloe Papers*, i. p. 660.

[4] *Historical MSS. Com.*, Report 13, Appendix vii. p. 15; *Thurloe Papers*, iii. pp. 617, 679; *James II.*, i. pp. 245, 246; *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 117.

each country bound itself not to assist or harbour the enemies of the other. On the one side England agreed to banish the adherents of Condé and the rebellious Bordelais, on the other France consented to exclude from her territory the House of Stuart and certain of its adherents, namely, all the King's councillors and others expressly specified. Exceptions were made in the case of the Queen as a daughter of France, and of her two youngest children, as not yet of an age to do harm, but the exclusion of Henry was required after the lapse of ten years.[1]

News of the treaty whereby he was proscribed and banished reached James at a moment when, in the absence of Turenne, he was in actual command of the French army. This post he retained until the return of his general, when, perceiving the campaign to be over, he obtained leave to join the Court at Compiègne. There he was received with such demonstrative kindness and such elaborate apologies for the new treaty as went far to convince him of its absolute necessity, but neither Charles nor Henrietta was able to take so dispassionate a view, and Jermyn was promptly despatched by the Queen to summon her son to Paris.[2]

James came to Paris on November 23, but still in the company of his cousin Louis, and there he lingered for many months to the great satisfaction of the Cardinal, who had obtained Cromwell's secret connivance on the plea that the loss of the Irish troops would be of ill effect to both England and France.[3]

1656 January By the following January James had found a new excuse for delay in the projected visit of his sister Mary

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 287 ; *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 158, 254, 357, 374, 567.

[2] *James II.*, i. pp. 264-265 ; *Thurloe Papers*, i. pp. 677, 689 ; iv. p. 194.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, i. pp. 660, 666, 677, 686, 687-689 ; iv. pp. 227, 254, 284, 345, 392 ; *Nicholas Papers*, ii. pp. 184, 185, 201, 202, 257 ; *James II.*, i. p. 266 ; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 75.

to Paris, and he replied calmly to Charles's reiterated summons:

'I have received yours of the 5th, and will not fail to wait on you at Cologne as soon as I leave this countrie. But I am not able to say how soon it will be for they do not press my going yett, nor do I believe they will for some tyme, so that, with my sister's coming, will keep me some tyme longer here. . . . For the Cardinal, he has assured me that when I leave this countrie he will have the care himself to see my pension paid, but he has not yett named the sum. I go next week to meet my sister as far as Péronne, so that I shall not trouble you with a letter that week, except I have something new to say.'[1]

All this was extremely vexatious to Charles, who was scarcely less troubled by Mary's persistence in visiting France than by James's obstinacy in remaining there. To him and to his councillors the time of this visit appeared singularly ill-chosen, as though purposely designed to excite the jealousy of Spain and frustrate the negotiations then in progress with the English King.[2] But Mary, who had her full share of Stuart obstinacy, refused to be turned from her purpose. She ardently desired a reconciliation with her mother with whom she had long been on bad terms. Their disagreements had culminated in Mary's choice of the Chancellor's daughter, Anne Hyde, to be one of her maids of honour, a choice which Henrietta had opposed as furiously as though she could have foreseen all the far-reaching consequences.[3] Mary had resented her interference no less fiercely, and the quarrel had been long and violent, but now when Henrietta urged her daughter to visit her, Mary was eager to accept the overture. The vehement expostulations of her eldest brother, the wise remon-

[1] *Miscellanea Aulica*, pp. 111-113, 117, 124; *Thurloe Papers*, i. pp. 663, 667.

[2] *Holland Papers*, R. O., Nicholas to Jane, December 25-January 4, 1655-6, November 23-December 3, 1655.

[3] *Evelyn*, iv. p. 211; *Nicholas*, ii. p. 198; *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 70.

strances of her faithful Heenvliet were alike unavailing, and on January 17, 1656, she set out for Paris, where she was received by her mother with enthusiasm, and by the French Court with kindness and courtesy.[1] In Paris she remained for nearly a year, to the intense dissatisfaction of Charles and his friends, who saw in all the cordial hospitality offered to her, only a design to injure her brother.[2] Their bitterness was increased in the autumn by the arrival of an English Ambassador at Paris, and the conclusion of a further treaty between England and France, whereby Cromwell undertook to send a force of three thousand men for service in Flanders.[3]

1656 September November

May

Before this new agreement was concluded James had at last yielded to pressure and taken his unwilling departure from France. Immediately on the conclusion of Charles's treaty with Spain he had taken counsel with Turenne, and had, by his advice, suggested that the Spaniards might well be satisfied with the possession of two Stuarts, and that Charles might therefore connive at his own stay in France, and even at his rejoining the French army.[4] This suggestion merely excited Charles's indignation, and he became thenceforth more than ever resolved to have James at his side, impelled as much by jealousy of his brother as by his enmity to France. He could not forget that James was caressed and honoured where he was ignored and slighted; that the younger brother enjoyed by far the better reputation of the two, and that he had been openly declared by the Queen and Prince Rupert the more fit to lead an expedition to Scotland. He had in consequence strictly forbidden James to interfere with affairs at home in any way whatsoever, and though James was very willing to obey

[1] *Thurloe*, i. pp. 665, 676, 681, 683, 690, 700; iv. pp. 332, 410; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. pp. 241, 244; *Rawlinson MSS.*, cxv. ff. 117, 202.

[2] *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, cxxiv. fol. 39; cxxv. fol. 4.

[3] *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 88, 93; *Thurloe*, iii. p. 696; iv. p. 704; v. pp. 8, 217, 253, 367, 451, 553; *Gardiner*, iii. pp. 480-481; *Chéruel*, ii.

[4] *James II.*, i. pp. 269-271; *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 226, 282, 291; *Thurloe*, v. p. 120.

this mandate, Charles could not be convinced of his obedience.[1]

This jealousy had lately received fresh impetus from various stories then circulated concerning the Duke. Intrigues in which his name played a part there certainly were, and Sir John Berkeley had actually entertained proposals emanating from Bampfylde, among them a project for James's marriage with Cromwell's daughter, but to none of these schemes had James himself ever given countenance. 'His answer was that he had been expressly conjured by his brother not to hold any correspondence with me, under the forfeiture of all brotherly affection betwixt them,' reported Bampfylde to Thurloe. 'And upon the whole matter I dare engage my life that whilst he was here he had neither design nor correspondence in England, not so much as for money. And I do less believe that he will have any now, whilst he lies under the strict observation of a suspitious brother, neither his humour nor his parts rendering him capable of the management of it himself. And Sir John Berkeley, who is the only person about him proper for such an affair, is so suspected and overlooked as to that particular, and is naturally so cautious that he will never adventure on such a negotiation without the privity of Charles Stuart.'[2]

Yet, notwithstanding James's innocence, a report that he was about to send Colonel Tuke to treat on his behalf in England so much aroused Charles's wrath that he sent Bennett to inquire into the truth of the rumour,[3] and to demand James's instant removal to Bruges.

To James this was nothing less than an insult; yet, angry though he was, he deemed a prompt obedience to his brother's commands the best answer to false accusations. Unfortunately France refused to assist in the matter, and though he received many 'good words,' these 1656 June-July

[1] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 272; *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 108.
[2] *Thurloe Papers*, v. p. 511, November 2, 1656.
[3] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 272; *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 125.

did not suffice to settle his debts, or even to provide 'horse-meat' for his journey. In the previous year Jermyn had declared that though the Duke could not leave without paying a part of his debts, there was 'very little appearance of paying all,' and his 'perplexitys' were now increased by the addition of another year's embarrassments to the score.[1] Delay was inevitable, but it proved excessively displeasing to the Spaniards, and Charles therefore reiterated his summons to James in 'a verie pressing letter,' assuring him that affairs were 'in a hopeful posture,' and that he had 'secrets of infinite consequence to communicate to him.'[2]

1656 August

This sent James to the Court at Compiègne, ostensibly to take his leave of the King, but in reality to plead for the funds necessary to his departure. Louis, still 'loth to part with him,' detained him till August 30, when, seeing that he was 'resolved to go,' he 'took leave, and embraced him with great demonstration of affection.' The Cardinal parted from him as kindly, promising the continuance of his pension so long as he did not take arms against France, and supplying him with money for his journey.[3] With this encouragement James returned to Paris, where he found more letters from Charles urging him to haste, and hinting that John Berkeley might be left to settle his 'money business, or any other affair he had.' James, however, easily perceived the design to detach Sir John from his service, and, aided by his mother and Jermyn, succeeded in making terms with his creditors before quitting Paris.[4]

September

On September 10/20 he set out with Sir John, having sent most of his 'equipage and servants' in advance. The first night he lodged at Verneuil with his uncle, M. de Metz, and on the next day he came to Clermont, where he intended to take horse at the post-house.

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, i. p. 688; v. pp. 84, 250, 293, 388; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 168.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 303, 304; *Thurloe*, v. p. 320.

[3] *Thurloe*, v. pp. 293, 314, 320, 325, 369, 402.

[4] *Ibid.*, v. pp. 402, 412; *Memoirs of James II.*, i. pp. 276, 277.

Owing to some miscalculation as to the date of the Duke's departure, the English Ambassador, Lockhart, happened to be there, and actually lodged in the post-house itself. Terrified by the news of James's approach, he ordered his horses saddled, stationed his footmen 'and a good company of sturdy fellows,' armed with swords and pistols, at the foot of the staircase, and established himself in an upper room in the midst of his officers, fully armed. Watching from the window, he saw James's coach draw up at the door, and as the Duke descended from it, he glanced up and their eyes met. In a few moments the ambassador's alarm was increased by the concourse of 'almost all the people of the town,' but it was without ground. He himself was no regicide, nor had James any desire to abuse the hospitality of France. The sight of Lockhart had merely decided him to go his way 'without making the least stay in that place, but only to get on his boots, which he had in the coach.' That done, he mounted the horse that awaited him at the door and so rode away while Lockhart and his attendants stood 'uncovered.' The same night he rejoined his 'equipage' at Abbeville, and thence he proceeded by Montreuil, Boulogne, and Calais to Gravelines, where he stood on Spanish territory. Ormonde was already waiting to receive him, and the two went on together to Dunkirk, whence they passed the next day to Bruges, being met on the way at Furnes by Charles and Henry.[1] September 28th

[1] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. pp. 277-279.

CHAPTER VIII

Hope in England—New Plots—Lack of Funds—Wildman—Intrigues of Levellers and Royalists—Address of Levellers to the King—Collections of Money in England—General Election—Anxiety of English Government—State of Ireland—State of Scotland—Arrest of Cavaliers—Charles's Difficulties with Spain—His Levies in Flanders—His Poverty—The Earl of Bristol—The King's Passes—Colonel Grace—Contest for Quarters—Difficulties of Bristol—Divergent views of Bristol and Hyde—Projected Invasion of England—Help promised by Spain—Failure of Royalist Projects—Of the Leveller Plot—Alleged Plot to murder the Stuarts—Postponement of the Invasion.

1656 June

BY the treaty ratified in June 1656 Spain was pledged, in return for Charles's promises of alliance and religious tolerance, to give him residence in Spanish dominions, maintenance for himself and his brothers, quarters for the troops levied by him, the liberty of the Spanish ports for his ships, and assistance for the invasion of England and Scotland during the ensuing winter. One condition, however, barred the way: before Spain provided men, money, or ammunition for the projected expedition, the English King must secure a port at which to disembark them.

At the first Charles had thought to effect this by means of Lawson, but when that hope failed him, he was still far from despair. The rule of the major-generals had brought a certain outward tranquillity, but no inward peace, to England. Royalists, Levellers, and Presbyterians were all alike restless and discontented, emissaries passed almost weekly between England and Flanders, and throughout the year 1656 Charles and his ministers were engaged in a threefold intrigue of which the object was to prepare for a simultaneous invasion and insur-

rection, by raising funds, murdering Cromwell, and securing an English port.

1655 December

The principal agents trusted in the affair were Sir Robert Shirley, William Rumbold, Thomas Ross, who had been the messenger of the active party in the previous year, and Dick Pile, a west country surgeon. The two first, though prisoners in the Tower, seem to have enjoyed considerable facilities for communicating with their friends, but circumstances naturally limited their operations. Pile and Ross were still free, and while the former busied himself for the most part in the west, the latter crossed and re-crossed the Channel on errands to the King. In December 1655 he came to Cologne with proposals for a new rising in the west, to begin with the seizure of Gloucester and Bristol, and, on his return from Cologne to Paris, he added the assassination of the Protector to the scheme.[1]

1656 January

Since the failure of Halsall and Talbot the Royalists had been so 'generally discouraged' that they had decided that any future attempts on Cromwell's life must be made by foreigners, or by former members of his own party. Now overtures on the subject were made to Ross by a certain Richard Hopton, who offered to accomplish Cromwell's death 'by infallible ways and means,' if he received 'approbation and encouragement to undertake it' from the King himself.[2]

February

This Ross begged Nicholas to procure, urging, 'We seldom find in a volunteer such a concurrence of requisites, namely, fidelity, courage, discretion, and a purse.' But the old secretary, while avowing his personal approval, refused to approach the King on the subject, and as Hopton protested that he had 'no power from those that intrusted him to set the wheel going but on the King's approbation only,' the thing fell through.[3]

[1] *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, cii. fol. 76; cxxiv. fol. 89.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 47, Jan. 16-26, 1656; *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 264.

[3] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 265; *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, cii. fol. 60 A; cxxiii. fol. 49; cxxiv. fol. 31.

For the moment, want of funds debarred Ross from further action. He was at the time in Paris just recovering from an illness, deeply indebted to his surgeon, and in such destitution that he could only pay for his letters by depriving himself of food.[1] In the circumstances the purchase of passes or the making of even a short journey was impossible, and it was not until April that he reached Calais, where his wife awaited him with news of the intense discontent of the English sailors, hints of overtures from the Levellers, and details of the projected rising in the west.[2] In addition to this came offers of service from Norfolk and Suffolk,[3] but of such matters it was unwise to write, and want of funds prevented Ross from seeking the King in person. A chance meeting with Nicholas Armorer proved, however, a deliverance from a serious dilemma. To Armorer all schemes were fully confided, not excepting those of Hopton, who charged him to conceal all from Hyde, and to deal only with Nicholas, or directly with the King.[4]

But to keep from Hyde what was known to the King was beyond the power of either Ross or Armorer, and on April 10, the very day of Armorer's arrival at Bruges, Charles himself wrote to Hyde at Brussels declaring that he was pleased with Armorer's errand and should request 'the honest gentleman at Paris' to await his further orders. He also wrote personally to Hopton, thanking him for his proposal,[5] and on May 4 Hopton set out on his enterprise, assuring the King that he should obey only such directions as came through Ross or Armorer, and exhorting Armorer to avoid confusion by keeping the affair in his own hands.[6]

[1] *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, cii. fol. 165; cxxiii. fol. 49.

[2] *Ibid.*, cxxiv. ff. 89, 110; cxxv. ff. 4, 55, 57, 73.

[3] *Ibid.*, cxxiii. fol. 67; cxxv. fol. 34.

[4] *Ibid.*, cxxvi. fol. 46; cxxvii. fol. 50; March 27, April 6-11, 1656, N. S. Ross to Nicholas; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 107.

[5] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 292; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii., Article 305, April 14, 1656.

[6] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 226, 232.

During the next few months plans for a new rising were freely discussed.[1] Scotland, under the strong hand of Monk, seethed with an ill-concealed discontent, nor could all the vigilance of the Government prevent the constant ingress and egress of Royalist agitators. Ireland, too, was kept in a state of unrest by the priests and friars, who wandered in disguise through the country, stirring up the people to resist the oppressor, and there appeared enough ground for encouragement in England alone. Reports of disorders in army and fleet combined with the prospect of a general election to keep the Government uneasy and the Royalists proportionately hopeful. Letters from England were cheerfully sanguine, and the King's return was fixed for Michaelmas at latest. 1656 May

To the Levellers also the moment seemed propitious. Sexby, still clinging to Buckingham, and refusing an alliance with the King, continued his intrigues with Spain and Rome, promising, as before the murder of Cromwell, the seizure of a port, and the revolt of the English fleet. His plans, however, hung fire; money, sent over for the advancement of his designs, fell into the hands of the English Government, and a letter addressed by him to Wildman suffered the same fate. Consequently he failed to obtain the cipher which he desired with his imprisoned comrade, and the encouraging assurances of 'that apostate's' speedy downfall missed their mark.[2] June

But though this letter did not reach Wildman's prison he had already found means of communication with Rumbold and Shirley, and was now engaged in an attempt to enter into alliance with the Royalists. As early as March Mrs. Ross had urged the advisability of expressing some 'kindness' towards the captive

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 309.

[2] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 698; v. pp. 37, 319, 320, 349, 449, 511; *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 50; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii., Articles 400, 444, 495.

Leveller, and in May Rumbold wrote of his offer to secure Deal Castle for the King. This letter was followed by one from Shirley, giving assurance of Wildman's power, zeal, and desire for the King's favour.[1] Charles thereupon accepted the overture with protestations of entire confidence in the Levellers,[2] and early in July he received an address, prepared and signed by several of the leading members of that party, namely, William Howard, Ralph Jennings, Edward Penkarman, John Hedworth, John Sturgion, John Wildman, John Amigeu, Randolph Hedworth, and Richard Reynolds.

1656 July

Touching gently upon the beginning of the troubles, the signers referred to the late King as 'a gentleman, as of the most strong and perfect intellectuals, so of the best and purest morals of any Prince that ever swayed the English sceptre.' They protested that they had taken up arms originally with the simple intention of rescuing a beloved sovereign from evil counsels, 'that he might shine the more gloriously in the beauty of his own lustre,' but confessed that being subsequently deceived and misled by the 'hellish designs of wicked, vile, and ambitious persons,' they had wandered far from the paths of virtue and loyalty. Now justly punished for their sins, they asked themselves, in shame and penitence: 'Why should we not return to our first husband?' and came to cast themselves 'at the feet of the King's mercy.'

Not, however, without conditions. The King to whom they thus humbly returned was to recall the Long Parliament, ratify the Treaty of the Isle of Wight, confirm any further measures judged needful by the Parliament, establish complete liberty of religious worship, abolish tithes, and admit to a general amnesty all persons, 'excepting only such who do adhere to that ugly tyrant

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 300; *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 53; *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, cxxv. fol. 73.

[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 139, June 21, 1656.

who calls himself Protector, or who in justification of his, or any other interest, shall, after the publication of this act of grace, continue and persevere in their disloyalty to your Majesty.'[1] On these conditions the Levellers professed themselves ready to lay down their lives for the King.

This curious document was conveyed to Calais by William Howard himself, and thence despatched to Bruges by Titus, Howard preferring to await news of its reception at a distance. He intrusted Titus, however, with a letter to the King, wherein he confessed himself 'in the unhappy number of these fools' who had been deceived by 'the Imposter.' Now that his eyes were opened to see into 'the dark dungeon of his (Cromwell's) soul,' he and all others 'plainly read treachery, tyranny, perfidiousness, dissimulation, atheism, hypocrisy, and all manner of villainy written in large characters on his heart.' He then described the three parties most hostile to Cromwell, Christian Royalists or Fifth Monarchists, Commonwealth's men, and Levellers, all of which, though differing both in aim and method, could, he thought, be induced to unite eventually for the King. He concluded with the suggestion that an immediate advance of £2000 would greatly facilitate their efforts.[2]

Charles was far from having £2000 to give, but he at once sent to Howard a gracious acceptance of his address, with the declaration: 'The truth is I have read very few things in my life which have more affected me than this address from yourself and your friends.' He adjured the Levellers to pursue their designs with courage and resolution, assured them of his perfect confidence, protested that he should be very sorry to let any 'honest and conscientious men' suffer for their opinions, and requested Howard to come at once to Bruges. Howard then took that journey whereon he suffered so much from

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xv. pp. 103-120 (wrongly dated 1658); *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 70, July 1656.

[2] *Clarendon, History*, xv. pp. 121-130.

the Spanish formality about passes,[1] and proved on his arrival 'a person of very extraordinary parts, sharpness of wit, readiness and volubility of tongue, and yet an Anabaptist.'[2]

In conversation with Charles he 'made himself merry with the extravagancy and madness of his companions,' confessed their demands unreasonable, and thought that 'once engaged in blood,' they might be induced to 'recede from them.' Of the power of his party he entertained no doubts at all, but money was needed, and Charles had no money to give. Therefore Howard could undertake no more than an indirect assistance 'by their increasing the faction and animosity against Cromwell.' On this understanding he departed, 'very well satisfied with the King,' and bearing a letter to Wildman, wherein Charles expressed his satisfaction at the new rapprochement, and promised to reimburse his allies for all that they spent in his service.[3] Wildman was, at that very juncture, negotiating with Shirley concerning the seizure of Portsmouth, but that affair was dropped, like others, for lack of funds to bribe the Governor.[4]

1656 September

Notwithstanding the money difficulty, Charles built great hopes on the Levellers and on the general election, which could not fail to afford opportunity for meetings and the airing of grievances. It was hoped that the new Parliament would be at least hostile to the Protector, and the King's friends were exhorted to obtain the election of members favourable to his interests. The Levellers exerted themselves to shake the existing Government. The Fifth Monarchists, in debate as to when was the time for destroying and pulling down 'Babylon and its adherents,' concluded 'the time to be now and the means to be by the sword.' Seditious pamphlets adjuring the electors to choose 'wise and

[1] See page 253.

[2] *Clarendon, History*, xv. p. 131; *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 77.

[3] *Clarendon, History*, xv. pp. 120, 131; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 153.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 129.

godly men,' opposed to the present tyranny, were freely circulated, and meetings and disturbances became frequent.[1] The event justified Charles's hopes inasmuch as members hostile to the Government were returned in almost all places. In September he was exhorted 'to look graciously' upon the Presbyterians, who were ready to join him, and to be prepared to act on the first movement of the Levellers, lest by success, they should grow 'insolent.' They, for their part, gave repeated assurances of the speedy death of Cromwell and Lambert, and agreed on £15,000 as the price of Portsmouth, but required the King to send some one to receive that port from their hands, since they would not surrender it to their Royalist neighbours.[2] By means of the clergy a Royalist organisation had been established throughout the country; Lord Oxford was chosen as Commander-in-Chief, from four to five thousand men were already enlisted, and plots were laid for the seizure of Bristol and Gloucester.

It was of course impossible that the English Government, well-informed as it was by spies innumerable, both at home and abroad, could remain ignorant of what was going forward. From the first it had recognised that Charles's residence in Flanders would necessarily 'afford some trouble,' and as rumours of a great rising, to be backed by a Spanish invasion, grew and circulated, anxiety increased.[3] 1656 March

The respective rulers of Scotland and Ireland were firmly convinced that their own governments would be the first attacked, while those in England looked for a simultaneous rising in the three sister kingdoms. Rumours of such schemes were never lacking, Charles's steady collection of troops was duly observed, and it was well-known that both Royalists and Levellers were plotting

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 197, 268, 317, 339.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. ff. 208, 369; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 167.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 371, 418, 641, 652, 680, 697; v. pp. 8, 26.

the Protector's murder as a preliminary to action. Consequently all due precautions were taken. The
1656 September army was put into good condition, the south coast was secured by army and militia, and many garrisons were changed. On September 11-21 over 30 Cavaliers were arrested and confined in the Tower, among them Lord Willoughby, Andrew Newport, Colonel Ashburnham, and John Russell. Henry Seymour was searched for, but escaped. Other arrests followed, and in September all Royalists were banished from London for the space of six months.[1]

October Finally 160 of the elected members were excluded by the Protector from the New Parliament, and an exclusion bill, debarring any of the line of Stuart from ever becoming King, or Chief Magistrate, of England, was successfully passed.[2] These arbitrary proceedings, though they 'increased the bitterness of the people,' served to greatly dishearten the Royalist plotters.

'The news of the clapping up of some men in England, which we did receive this week, was a great disheartening to them that depend upon Charles,' wrote a spy from Bruges. 'Some of them swore (dam them) that their design was spoiled.'[3]

And again:

'The King of Scots is at a stand, yet he keeps his men together. I think he is now out of hopes to attempt anything against you. He hath sundry emissaries now in England and more he is to despatch. I cannot learn what they drive at as yet; a general sadness is amongst them at present.'[4]

From this, and from various accounts of the 'pitiful' condition of Charles and his men, the Government began to take comfort.[5]

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 398, 407, 555; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 175.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 353; *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 427, 453.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, v. p. 431.

[4] *Ibid.*, v. p. 503, October 29, 1656.

[5] *Ibid.*, v. pp. 513, 540.

Since the loss of the galleons taken by Blake,[1] Spain had been in no case to furnish troops and ships, and as the months wore on difficulties were enhanced by the jealousy which sprang up between Don Juan, Caracena, and Condé.[2] When August came, Charles had not received a penny of the promised pension, and far from being able to discharge his debts at Cologne, was becoming more deeply involved, while his need of money increased daily with the increase of his troops in Flanders.

1656 August

It was not until August 19 that Ormonde's services at the siege of Condé at last wrung from the Spanish Ministers a promise of 9000 crowns for the King and 1000 for James, and when Hyde went to receive the money at Brussels, on August 28, delays were still interposed.[3]

September

'God send me to deal with men of passion, who will be angry when they are contradicted and provoked, and (will) be moved and pleased with reason that they cannot answer,' prayed the Chancellor, after long contest with the imperturbable Spaniards.[4]

But when his efforts were crowned with success, and a barrel of money was actually delivered to him he found its possession rather an embarrassment than a satisfaction.

'I know no more what to do with it than with a fever, or how to get it to Antwerp or Bruges. A barrel of money is a troublesome commodity to travel with,' he alleged. Moreover he was beset with a fear that James might demand the despatch of his share to Paris. 'There will not want such advice, for the jest's sake and to laugh at the Spaniard.'[5]

Ormonde was of opinion that half the sum really ought to be sent to James for his journey, but Hyde was spared this complication, for the Duke asked no more

[1] September 1656. See page 264.

[2] *Clarendon, History*, xv. p. 17 ; xvi. p. 46 ; *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 441, 472.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 176 ; *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 335, 344.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 195 ; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 304, September 1, 1656.

[5] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 169, September 7, 1656.

than that the money should await him at Bruges.[1] Thither the Chancellor despatched the whole sum, with a solemn exhortation to Charles to pay at least a portion of the Cologne debt, 'even at great inconvenience.' But the exhortation fell on deaf ears, and Charles spent not only his own pension, but a portion also of that of James, which he found it necessary to 'borrow.' Ormonde hastened to disclaim all responsibility for this 'squandering,' but there were perhaps excuses, since Charles was by that time half distracted with the effort to provide for the men who were daily flocking to join his standard.[2] From the first he had intended to raise an independent army in the Low Countries, and his levies had begun in June with the six rather unwelcome Irish troopers who then came from France.[3] In August this little band was joined by other compatriots, who, less scrupulous than MacCarty, did not hesitate to transfer their service to Spain without form or ceremony, and Charles thereupon set to work in serious earnest. Assured of quarters for four regiments, and confident of the speedy arrival of Cormac MacCarty with his men, he now resolved to raise one regiment of English, one of Scots, and two of Irish, each numbering about 1000 men. The command was to be intrusted to Rochester, Middleton, Ormonde, and Henry of Gloucester respectively, Henry's command being merely nominal, and the actual duties being performed by Taafe. Charles was not, however, rigidly scrupulous concerning the nationality of either men or officers and avowed his intention of granting commissions to 'strangers,' and of receiving 'all sorts to make up the number,' subject always to the approval of Spain.[4]

On September 7 Ormonde informed Hyde that the King was actually paying 100 men at the rate of

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, p. 171, September 11, 1656.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 301, October 8, 1656.
[3] *Ibid.*, lii. fol. 52, June 30, 1656.
[4] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 119; *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 316, 344, 349, 351, 392, 471.

6d. per day, and Hyde, while acknowledging the disastrous effects of letting them go, declared that it would be impossible to long continue the charge.[1]

Relief was obtained by the grant of free quarters at Furnes for fourteen days,[2] but such grants, given reluctantly and temporarily, needed to be constantly renewed, and the quarters proved invariably insufficient for the numbers to be accommodated. Charles's difficulties were ever recurrent, and his enemies soon began to take comfort in his slow musters and in the character of his troops 'so barbarous a crew as could not be matched in all the world besyd.'[3]

1656 October

At the beginning of October he was paying about four hundred men, and by the end of that month the arrival of MacCarty's troops, and of some forty gentlemen from England had doubled their numbers. Yet, in the first week of November Thurloe received the assurance, 'There is not in all 700, for they mutiny every day. Their pay is so small they cannot live upon it, the soldier hath but 4 stivers a day, the gentlemen 6.'[4]

November

Poverty produced disorder and desertion. Zeeland was said to be full of soldiers who had left their colours, and a theft committed in a church at Bruges and attributed to Charles's needy followers, threatened to embroil him seriously with the citizens.

'The great confluence of those who at first flocked to him is like to prove his trouble. They are like to eat one another for want of means to subsist by,' observed Thurloe.[5]

Yet Charles did not abate his efforts to draw men to him. In the last days of September he despatched Middleton to Poland, with instructions to raise money and arms from the Scottish merchants settled in Poland,

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 169, 171, September 7, 11, 1656.
[2] *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 383, 391.
[3] *Ibid.*, v. pp. 389, 431; *Royalist and Cromwellian Armies in Flanders* (Professor Firth).
[4] *Thurloe*, v. p. 521; *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 292; liii. fol. 3.
[5] *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 473, 666.

Brandenburg, and elsewhere, and to detach the Scots from the Swedish service and transfer them to that of their own King.[1] General orders had already been sent to the Irish in Italy and Catalonia, calling them to Flanders, and on November 30 Charles summoned 'all or any of the English nation in La Bassée' to repair to the quarters provided by Spain, and take part in the war waged by the Catholic King against 'our rebels.' A few days later it was reported that his levies had reached the number of 6000.[2]

'They flock to him out of England, Scotland, and France, but finding slight entertainment in their quarters they begin to run away again. Many of the Scottish Highlanders are come to Bruges in their right native Highland apparel, which is no small subject of admiration to the people of Bruges. Charles Stewart's Court groweth very numerous. The Irish lords are almost all come out of France. Lord Muskerry and Ormonde's brother[3] arrived at Bruges on Sunday last. MacCarty, son to Lord Muskerry, is gone to Bruges with a recommendation from Charles Stewart to Don Juan of Austria, to procure quarters for a regiment which he intends to levy.'[4]

1656 December

By December 10 Colonel Musgrave had also come from France, and before the end of the month the numbers had reached 1500. Yet, though the ranks were recruited daily by English, Scots, and Irish from France, Prussia, and elsewhere, though Middleton's success in Poland was confidently anticipated, and 'liberty to receive any nation' had been granted, the quarters and allowance were yet extended to no more than 12,000 men.[5] In these circumstances money was so urgently needed for present exigencies as to leave little

[1] *Scotland and the Protectorate* (Professor Firth); *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxlii. fol. 234; *Thurloe*, v. pp. 449, 656, 666.

[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 186; *Thurloe*, v. p. 612.

[3] Richard Butler.

[4] *Thurloe*, v. p. 645.

[5] *Ibid.*, v. pp. 666, 724.

hope of paying past debts; yet the Chancellor had not abandoned all effort in that direction.

His partial success in August had encouraged him to hope for more, and he next applied to Don Alonso for a grant of money to discharge the King's debts, which he now computed at £5000. Failing that, he begged that orders for the payment of the King's pension up to March 1657 might be issued immediately, and the King thereby enabled to raise money to discharge his liabilities. Alonso declared his inability to do this without Don Juan's consent, and another delay was necessitated by sending to the army for orders. Though Hyde waited in Brussels till September 16, no answer was forthcoming, and he was obliged to return disconsolate to Bruges, protesting that he should never know rest or peace until he could send the money to Cologne, and so release 'the family' there in pawn.[1] Ten days later he was again in Brussels on the same business, and thence he proceeded to Antwerp in the rather desperate hope of negotiating a loan, but, arriving just at the Feast of Corpus Christi, found that there was 'no discoursing of business with any man.' Subsequent applications to private merchants met with no success, and he finally proposed to apply to the corporations of Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and Ipres, strengthening his claim by a reminder of a still unpaid loan of £40,000, made by Queen Elizabeth to the states of Flanders in 1576.[2] But again the permission of Don Juan was required, and Hyde was condemned to another 'weary' waiting, rendered the more distressing by fresh appeals for help from Cologne, to which he could only reply that he was doing all in his power to procure it. To these were added the King's complaint that there was no more money in the house; Ormonde's lament that he possessed not so much as a stiver, and piteous accounts of the straits to which the new levies were reduced. 'I suppose you think we

1656 September

October

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 165, 166, 167, 171, 178.
[2] *Ibid.*, iii. pp. 176, 179; *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 282.

should pawn our shirts rather than disband them now,' wrote Ormonde on October 4.[1] Bristol added gibes of a personal nature, not calculated to soothe, but his colleagues were forced to endure much from him in consideration of the services he was able to render, and it was upon him that Hyde's hopes were now centred.[2]

In the earlier years of the exile George Digby, as he then was, had troubled his compatriots but little. Charles, with whom he was no favourite, had refused on the late King's death to swear him of his Council or confirm to him his office of Secretary of State, and Digby had therefore devoted his talents and energies to the service of France. His peculiar gifts soon won for him considerable distinction, the rank of Lieutenant-General in the French army, and the personal favour of the great Cardinal. Consequently, when Charles quitted France in 1654, Digby remained in the French service, contending successfully with the Spanish forces in Flanders, and subsequently in Italy, and his absence from Court and Council was sustained by his fellow-exiles with considerable fortitude. Eventually he forfeited Mazarin's favour by his own restless ambition, and when the peace was concluded between England and France the Cardinal seized the opportunity to dismiss his quondam favourite courteously.[3] Digby, now Earl of Bristol by his father's death,[4] then turned his thoughts towards Flanders, and wrote to Ormonde, suggesting that he should return to the King's service. Hyde replied that the Spaniards would probably object, on account of the fierce ravages formerly committed by Bristol in the service of France, and the more so as their resentment was enhanced by the reflection that Bristol had been born and bred in Spain.[5] Nevertheless, Bristol's secretary, Slingsby, came

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 181, 182, 184; *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 301.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 314.

[3] *Clarendon, History*, xv. p. 77.

[4] January 16, 1653.

[5] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 117, 118.

to Bruges with Fraser on May 11, bearing tenders of his master's service to the King, joined with arguments which Ormonde thought worthy of consideration,[1] and, in spite of Don Alonso's expressed displeasure,[2] Bristol himself reached Bruges in August 'with a good retinue and splendid equipage.'[3] He had been but a few days there, when, without asking so much as a recommendation from the King, he announced his intention of visiting Don Juan. His friends, aghast at such temerity, counselled him to keep at a distance from the army. But Bristol, whose sanguine temperament and boundless conceit forbade him to anticipate failure and enabled him to endure all reverses with equanimity, merely smiled at their warnings,[4] and, confident in his own powers, joined the Spanish army before Condé. His reception was frigid, but 'being exceedingly dexterous in all the arts of insinuation, and gaining the favour of great men, though not of keeping it,' he merely cast about for the best means of ingratiating himself. Listening to Don Juan's conversations with his confessor, Bristol interposed his opinions on all subjects, 'with an admirable acuteness which, besides his exactness in the Spanish language, made his parts wondered at by everybody.' In a few days he had discovered Don Juan's special weakness to be astrology, of which he himself was not ignorant. Within a week of their first meeting he had cast the Spaniard's horoscope; within a month, by 'talking perpetually to him of crowns and sceptres'—a conversation to which the lack of a legitimate heir-male to the Spanish throne lent point—he had attained the position of first favourite with Don Juan, and at the end of the campaign he was pressed by him to winter in Brussels. With Caracena he was not less successful. Having fought against that general in Italy during the previous year, he was able to discuss with him all the events of

1656 August

September

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 282.
[2] *Ibid.*, lii. ff. 118, 158.
[3] *Ibid.*, lii. fol. 148, August 8, 1656; *Thurloe*, v. p. 437.
[4] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 318.

that campaign, 'and he knew how to take occasions, both in his presence and absence, to magnify his conduct
1656 September in signal actions.' Caracena was charmed; it only remained to win Don Alonso; and this was not difficult, for Alonso, finding the enemy thus firmly established in the army, was ready to meet him half-way, and Bristol's dexterous flattery, combined with his fluency in Spanish, a language which he spoke as easily as English, did the rest.[1] Ormonde and Hyde had been fain to conduct their conversations with Alonso in halting French, but Bristol quickly perceived by the Spaniard's face, that he neither spoke nor understood French with ease. He therefore addressed him in Spanish. 'Of which,' he wrote to Hyde, 'I found so sudden an effect that, having received from you such a character of his dullness, hee appeared to mee a nimble spark.'[2] In short, Alonso confessed that he had understood very little of Hyde's papers or discourse, promised a satisfaction which the Chancellor had not been able to gain, and spoke warmly of the Spanish affection to the King's cause.

October Hyde, who had been so earnest to dissuade his friend from venturing near the army, now found it 'convenient' that he should remain with it permanently; and Charles, pleased with his subject's credit with the Spaniards, also took him into favour.[3] Bristol became chief agent in all transactions with Don Juan, and he found the post no sinecure. On the one hand were the Spaniards, slow, cautious, and embarrassed, on the other his own compatriots, starving, impatient, and ever ready to blame him for his want of success. It was Bristol who wrung from the Ministers letters to their agents in Holland and Hamburg, bidding them render Middleton all possible assistance, together with a commission for that officer to raise horse and foot for the King of Spain.[4] Again it

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xv. pp. 78, 79; *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 293.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 254, September 22, 1656.
[3] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 169.
[4] *Ibid.*, iii. pp. 184, 203; *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. ff. 254, 292, 314.

was Bristol who won Don Juan's consent to the proposed application for assistance at Antwerp, and Bristol who secured validity for the King's pass at St. Omer.[1] This question of passes was a serious one, since it was necessary for Charles to send messengers constantly between England, France, and Flanders, without publicity or delay. To this the French Governor at Calais interposed no obstacles, notwithstanding his Government's treaty with England; but Charles's own allies, the Spaniards, proved more difficult. The governors of the ports and frontiers refused to admit his pass as sufficient, and the Levellers, who came on a mission to the King at the end of September, complained that the 'unreasonable and uncivil gravity' of the Spanish governors made a journey to Bruges 'a heavier imposition than a penitential pilgrimage to Hierusalem.'[2] Bristol, bidden to report this to the Ministers, was answered that the right of granting passes was an inalienable Crown-right, but ultimately, by much importunity, obtained an order to the Governor of Gravelines to grant free passage to all those bearing the King's pass. Further pressure gained the extension of this order to St. Omer; but Hyde, who maintained that the passes should be recognised at all ports alike, regarded these hardly won concessions as altogether inadequate.[3] An attempt to evade the restrictions by means of a special letter signed by Nicholas failed signally. De Lede, being shown the document at Ostend, affirmed that 'he knew not what that Nicholas was,' and when told that he was the King's Secretary of State, retorted with scant courtesy that 'he understood nothing of the King of he could not tell what,' and refused to grant the passage.[4] This insult was aggravated by new difficulties 1656 November

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. ff. 311, 314; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 180.

[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 173-175; *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. ff. 254, 262, September 22, 23, 1656.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. ff. 254, 289, 314; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 187.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 351, October 24, 1656.

at Gravelines, where the Governor refused to let people go and return with the same pass. In one day an emissary sent hastily to England by the King was sent back from Gravelines, and two emissaries from England were driven back to Calais, and Hyde, in his exasperation, reproached Bristol with indifference and carelessness.[1] This accusation, just or unjust, stimulated Bristol to superhuman efforts. By noon of November 16, he had actually wrung from Don Juan orders for the preparation of the desired letters to the ports. But though he 'persecuted' the Viceroy's secretary till midnight, the letters remained unsigned, owing to the Master's absence at tennis. 'I believe you will think it a fault that I demanded not the letter from the Secretary of the Chamber, and carried it not to him to sign with his racquet,' declared Bristol to Hyde. By six o'clock next morning he had a gentleman posted at the secretary's door, but it was not until November 18 that the letters were actually obtained and despatched to the Chancellor with another of reproach and self-justification from Bristol.

'I send you herewith a copy of the letter I wrote to Don Juan immediately upon the receipt of yours, by which you may see whether I am a slack solicitor or noe,' he wrote. . . . 'I pardon your anger, reasonable in the subject, though wrong in the object. . . . Let me take the liberty to tell you that if you will have business well despatched at a secretariate so ill served as this, you must get some little blade of the office, who, upon gratification, may make it his business to see such things as appeare as nothing, and yet perhaps are of great consequence, punctually and timely despatched, according to the memorialls given by those that have other things to do than to waite whole daies at an under Secretary's lodging, making themselves too cheape to be able to do any business of a hyer nature. I hope this letter will make you wise for the rest of your life.

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 9, November 6, 1656.

'I saw yesterday the Marquis de Caracena, by whose discourses I had occasion to believe very well of the resolutions to satisfye us in the mayne of our business, in which the employment your testy letter gave me yesterday, made me lose a whole day, and I fear by the return my gentleman now brings me from the Secretary I may lose all this day also. . . . In the meantime God give you a better temper.'[1]

Though the manner of Bristol's communication was ill calculated to improve Hyde's temper it was still to him that the Court had to turn when the Spaniards demurred at receiving back those Irish officers who had formerly deserted their service for that of France.

The case in point was that of Colonel Richard Grace, who, at the end of the war in Ireland, had brought over to the Spanish service a regiment of 1200 men. He had been granted a good capitulation, but so ill was it fulfilled that before long he had lost half his men. In consequence of this he resolved to transfer himself and his regiment to France, and easily obtained from D'Hocquincourt a promise of the same conditions as were already enjoyed by his compatriots in the French service, including a permission to leave it at their own King's command. He was at that time in command of a frontier garrison of Catalonia, and 'great offers' were made to induce him to surrender it, but though Spain had not kept faith with him 'he would not, for his own sake, do anything unbecoming a gentleman.' Therefore he sent word of his intentions to the nearest Spanish garrison, bade them send 200 men to take charge of the fort which he was about to quit, and as they marched in at one gate, marched his own men out at the other, and joined the French troops awaiting him.[2] This 'handsome carriage' had not served to soften the Spanish resentment, and when Charles, 'with more than ordinary assurance of his devotion,' bade Grace march to Flanders

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 35, November 17, 1656.
[2] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. pp. 268-269.

with his men, he was astounded by the information that the Spaniards refused to receive him. Hyde, in deep indignation, wrote to Bristol that this treatment of Grace was even 'more wonderful' than the neglect of those officers already come over, adding:

'You know the value of the man and how many are involved in his guilt, and how impossible it will be for the King to lay his commands upon such men if they shall be in danger of ruin by obeying his commands.'

Before the letter was received Bristol had convinced Don Juan of his error, but by that time Grace and his men were 'shut up' in Beauvais, whence it was no longer possible for them to march in a body. All that they could now do was to desert to Spain 'by parcells,' and this being ultimately accomplished, Grace became Ormonde's Lieutenant-Colonel.[1]

1656 September

But most constant and least successful of Bristol's multifarious duties were the continual applications for money, and for the much-grudged quarters for the King's ever increasing troops. The recalcitrant attitude and real embarrassments of Spain made his task difficult, the querulous impatience of his colleagues at Bruges made it thankless.[2] At the end of September the Spaniards, chagrined by the loss of Aix-la-Chapelle and harassed by want of supplies and frequent desertions from their own ranks, neglected to provide new quarters for the men to whom they had granted a temporary sojourn at Furnes (September 13-25). Charles thus had 400 men thrown upon his hands, and Bristol, urged by vehement letters from Bruges, sought the army at Maubeuge, in order to get the matter redressed. In an interview with Caracena, on September 29, he was promised immediate satisfaction; but it was not until October 4 that he actually obtained what he sought, quarters for 600 men, and orders for their transportation by water.

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. ff. 3, 41; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 194.
[2] *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 316, 334, 362.

'The sense I have of the distress his Majesty has been in at Bruges for want of quarters for his men, has made me almost wilde,' he wrote to Ormonde on October 4. . . . 'You would pity me if you knew how I have been obliged to trot myselfe every day to three or four several offices to get that despatcht—but this morning—which was promised and certainly intended the very next day I came to Maubeuge.'[1]

Yet, after all this, the new orders availed only until October 22. By the 18th Charles had reasonable fears of a repetition of the former catastrophe, and the strenuous appeals despatched to Bristol found him absent from his post.[2] This changed anxiety to ire, but the Secretary met the reproaches of the Chancellor with cheerful indifference. 1656 October

'I know not whether my absence from the army may chance cost the King some few days' subsistance of his men, and consequently your fatt sides some grunts and groans. But of this I am sure, that before my engagement to sever myself thus far from Don Juan, I engaged the Marquis of Caracena as far as was possible to prevent that inconvenience by timely renewal of quarters, for a greater number than the 600 men. And of this I am also sure, that had I resisted their pressure of me to this journey of Douay upon a business which they have infinitely to heart, I should not have been able to have done the King service neither in that particular nor in any other, whereas now, if you leave me to my own way, if I fayle of serving the King with Don Juan and the Marquis de Caracena, it will be by a natural want of dexterity which I cannot help and not for want of access and interest in them both, which I think I may say I have to such a point as I wish I could transfer unto an abler man. . . .

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. ff. 273, 314; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 180, September 30, October 5, 11, 1656.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 351; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 186, October 18, 1656.

'*P.S.*—I forgot to add that being necessitated to continue here some days in the delights of an inn, I have sent George Lane to Don Juan with letters both to him and to the Marquis de Caracena, that will not be lesse effectual than my presence in point of quarters for 800 men. I have likewise charged Lane with the business of Ostend and Nieuport.'[1]

Bristol's callousness was ill received at Bruges where Charles, whose best efforts could not have eked out his remaining funds until next payday, found himself, on October 24, obliged to furnish three days' pay to 800 men. Hyde therefore wrote in strong terms to his flighty colleague, requiring him to obtain orders for the appointment and support of a captain and other officers so soon as any company mustered 40 men, and of a colonel as soon as the regiment was 300 strong.

'When you consider the date of this letter, that the quarters were expired on Sunday, that out of the little money remayning to the King for his bread—which, with all the husbandry requisite, would not hold out till the next supply comes in—there is three days' pay sent thither for the soldiers, and the fear that possesses us that there may be no end put to that intolerable expense, since your diligence hath not prevented this mischief, you will not expect that I should write in good humour. The truth is a general sadness and misgiving hath seized upon us all, for what remedy can be applied from hence if your presence there cannot provide against these fatall accidents which, besides the present pressure, take away our reputation and gives men who are willing to believe the worst, so much authority to say what they believe. Our number is now 800, and if sufficient quarters were assigned, in less than 20 days they would appear a very considerable body, for we are now so far from using means to draw men to us, that we use some diligence to restrain them from coming.'[2]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 345, October 20, 1656.
[2] *Ibid.*, lii. fol. 351, October 24, 1656.

He added that if it was not in the power of the Spaniards to bestow money on their guests, 'they might at least endeavour to give us that which is in their power, *reputation*, upon which we could help ourselves to money, and almost to anything that we want,' and bade Bristol 'put them in mind that it is now nine months since the King came into this country where he hath lived ever since, without receiving more from them than what gives him bread for two months. So that in truth if there be not some Ayuda da Costa given him for the payment of his debts and relieving his family, there will be even a dissolution of the house, and such a dejection of spirit that no good fortune can repaire. And this you would say if you were here, and saw the general necessities of all men.'[1]

To this tirade Bristol replied, still from Douay, that he had despatched Lane with the order for quarters 'divers days since,' adding, 'I send you herewithal a noble present of a rare cheese, knowing that to preserve your favour at Court it is necessary I should bribe you.'[2]

But Hyde was not propitiated by the bribe of 'the worst cheese in the world,' for which he had to pay carriage, and when, after the King had maintained his 800 men for a week, orders arrived for the quartering of 600 only, his indignation waxed greater than ever. The question of quarters must, he said, be settled once and for ever, and were it only done satisfactorily there would soon be 'four such regiments together as have not been seen in Flanders these many years.'[3] A few days later he wrote again, reiterating the threat of dissolving the household, and describing the disorders prevalent among the soldiers for want of a few days' pay. 'You have time to prevent the like mischieves to those which have hitherto fallen upon us, and which indeed, if you do not prevent, we cannot bear, but the men must immediately disband, for we have not 10 guilders in the

1656 November

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 351, October 24, 1656.
[2] *Ibid.*, lii. fol. 359, October 27, 1656.
[3] *Ibid.*, liii. fol. 3, November 1, 1656.

house, but run on score for what the King eats. I am weary of telling you the disenablenesse of our condition. . . . I have said so much of this to you that I can say nothing new, yet until I know that you have received myne, indeed that you are alive, I must still repeat what I have said, and beseech you to remember whilst you are adoing what most concernes others, that your owne master depends upon nobody there but yourself, for the solicitation of his own business, and I assure you he doth not think you sollicitous enough in that.'[1]

As this appeal produced no visible effect a statement of the King's affairs was next forwarded to Bristol for delivery to Don Juan, wherein, amongst other things, the necessity for forming the four regiments and assigning them quarters was urgently pressed.[2]

On the 15th Bristol assured the Chancellor that he had done his best, and now advised the King to come in person to Brussels, where he could, 'with a word' obtain the 'little conveniences and advantages' hitherto sought in vain. Three days later he wrote that 3000 crowns for the King and 1500 crowns for James were already at Antwerp, and that he did not doubt receiving complete satisfaction not only regarding money and quarters but even about 'the main business,' *i.e.* the invasion of England. The reasons assigned for these hopes were the unusual 'serenity' of Don Alonso's 'none-sweet face,' which could be due to no other cause than 'some golden gale from Spain,' and Don Juan's promise of a 'free conversation' within a few days. Charles was therefore counselled to 'have patience,' and, pending events, to quarter all new recruits on MacCarty's regiment.[3] On the 20th Bristol was still confident, and convinced of the Spaniards' intention to go 'thorough stitch' with the affair. But on the 21st he was in despair. 'No me duele

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 9, November 6, 1656.

[2] *Ibid.*, liii. fol. 25, November 13, 1656.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. ff. 31, 39, 41; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 202, November 15-18, 1656.

qui mi hijo pierda, sino que se quierre desquitar,' he wrote, and he took refuge in carping at Hyde's handwriting. On the 23rd his spirits were a little raised by Alonso's hint that money could be obtained from Antwerp in return for a promise of assistance in freeing the passage of the Scheldt, though he owned the condition dangerous, as sure to offend Holland.[1]

The presentation of three memorials, and vehement pleading at five several interviews, all within the space of four days, produced no other effect than the loss of Bristol's temper, and on November 24 he wrote to Hyde in a state of violent irritation.

'You make me mad when you repeate to me again how afflicted the King is at the inconveniences brought upon him by failures concerning the quarters. If you would repeate it to the Marquis of Caracena, possibly it might be good for somewhat, but written so often to mee it serves for nothing but to vex one that is already weary of his life, with such ineffectual drudgery. . . . God keepe you, and make you lesse troublesome to your friends.'[2]

The truth was that the Spaniards were themselves engaged in a dispute with the Flemings concerning the quartering of the army. A petition against free quartering had been presented to Don Juan by the County of Flanders, which, however, offered to maintain 12,000 foot and 1000 horse at 6 stivers each per diem, with lodging, fire, and full pay for officers. The offer was generous, and Charles's insistent demands threatened to break off the settlement, just at the point of conclusion, all, as Bristol said, to save the King £100 at most.[3]

Nevertheless, he returned to the attack on November 25, protesting that Spain might as well abandon Charles to his fate as leave the men on his hands two days longer. Compelling the quartermaster to bear him company, he haunted Caracena throughout the day, and at last wrung

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 202, 203.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 55, November 24, 1656.
[3] *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 596, 650, 666, November 26, December 3, 10, 1656.

from him an order for renewal of quarters for 1000 men for fifteen days, with the condition that any newcomers must be aggregated to the four regiments already recognised. Even this was only obtained after a six hours' waiting in Caracena's lodging, and Bristol, in giving an account of his labours to the King, took occasion to reproach him for his lack of consideration for the Spanish difficulties, and his injustice towards himself; he admitted, however, that there was some cause for complaint, 'since it hath made me almost wilde, and I can scarce recover my temper now that I have got the quartermaster-general's orders into my hands for the renewal of them for 1000 men for fifteen days.' And he despatched these orders to Hyde with the comment, 'Were I charged to procure the like again in the same conjuncture, I would rather lye a month in prison than undertake it.'[1]

He was permitted no respite. The want of money was becoming desperate. Bristol himself admitted that De Vic and Sir Richard Browne must both be supplied with money or recalled from their respective posts, the household was in dire need, and the troops would probably require support in another fortnight.[2] Therefore the 29th again found Bristol expostulating with Don Juan concerning the delays in business, and the 'not giving us in the meantime so much as reputation which perhaps would steed us as much as the assistances themselves.'[3]

1656 December

On December 5 he was engaged in a new contest with Caracena concerning quarters whereby the Spaniard was 'driven to great passions.' But eventually Bristol prevailed, and orders were granted for establishing the King's four regiments at Lovain, Lier, Damme, and at some town in Hainault, respectively. The choice of the regiments to be kept near him was left to Charles, whom Bristol urged to reserve half of the captaincies for 'persons of merit,' who might come over with entire companies, and

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. ff. 57, 59.
[2] *Ibid.*, liii. fol. 63, November 27, 1656.
[3] *Ibid.*, liii. fol. 67, November 29, 1656.

to send in a memorial of the expense of their maintenance.[1] His efforts, though successful, had been unwillingly made, and having made them Bristol wrote indignantly that by forced importunity in small details he was endangering his favour with Don Juan, and losing 'interest, credit, the access, in fine the whole power of serving the King in those great and main things for his re-establishment.' In short the King should be content 'to pinch upon a small supply' for the present, and when once the Spaniards had launched an expensive expedition in his service, they would not 'let his honour sink for want of 10,000 crowns.'[2]

This was the whole point at issue between the Chancellor and the Secretary. Hyde, practical and cautious, put immediate necessity first, seeing clearly enough that nothing could be done without due preparation, and particularly that it was impossible to keep unpaid troops disciplined or united. Bristol, endowed with a brilliant imagination and very little commonsense, conceived that the most important matter was to start the expedition to England, and would have let the King starve, and the troops disband, in the interval.

1656 August

When he first came to Flanders in August 1656, the hope of immediate action had appeared not unreasonable. The English Court was then 'very jovial,' expectant of the speedy fulfilment of the agreement with Don Juan,[3] and Bristol himself was not without personal assurances to that effect. On September 22 Don Alonso protested that the Spanish zeal for the Royalist cause was such that they would withdraw their army from the siege of St. Ghislain rather than lose any 'sudden and solid opportunity' which might occur in England. But when Bristol proceeded to press Caracena on the matter he was met with the reiterated question, 'Have you a port?'

September

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 85; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 209, 313.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 85; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 313.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 319, 344, 488.

1656 October

Don Juan expressed much 'warmth and zeal' and suggested that Condé's army might be employed against England, but eventually he ended with the same question, to which Bristol could only offer vague replies.[1] Until the port was secured the Spaniards were not bound to move, and they were not inclined to do more than was in their bond. Already Don Juan's popularity was on the wane; he had quarrelled with Condé, his military successes were over. It was said that he had 'played the fool with his victorious army, and clearly nulled it,' and that 'the affairs of Spain' went 'much to wrack in these countries, as well through the want of money, as the indiscretion of that young man who commands in chief.' Blake's defeat of the Spanish fleet and capture of two treasure ships was a terrible blow to Spain,[2] and scarcely less to Charles who saw himself again 'almost destined to misery,' and his new-found hope 'become macerate and vain.'[3]

In fact, the 'incredible straits' of Spain made the smallest supply for the moment impossible, and even Charles began to despair.

Nevertheless he now forwarded to Don Juan a new statement of his affairs in England, in which he informed his ally of the great unpopularity of Cromwell, of the number and enthusiasm of his own friends, and of the applications made to him by all factions. He stated that he had promised to go over before Christmas, that some important place would be put into his power immediately on his landing, and that one of his brothers would land at the same time in another place. He therefore desired that his four regiments might be duly formed and assigned proper quarters, that Spain would state what supplies of arms, ammunition, etc., she could furnish, and would assist him to raise money by intimating to the clergy and superiors of religious orders both in

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. ff. 254, 273, 330, September 30, October 15, 1656.

[2] See page 245.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 441, 447, 472, 481, 489, 494, 500, 503, 533.

England and Flanders that they should do their best in that matter, and by soliciting Antwerp for the payment of the old debt due to Queen Elizabeth.[1] Don Juan, who had just obtained money from Spain, received the paper very graciously, promising that he would not 'be wanting' when any occasion arose in England, and Bristol advised the King to follow up the advantage by sending the present of hounds formerly intended for the Archduke.

'Pray desire the King not to defer sending hither his hounds to Don Juan, for I find he longs for them.'[2]

He added a suggestion that Charles should himself come to Brussels to confer with the Spaniard, and on November 27 he derived fresh encouragement from a long interview with Don Juan, in which they spent two hours examining the map of England and discussing the whole design.[3] Finally he was referred to Caracena and Alonso for the settlement of details, and was assured that if any opportunity arose within the next twenty days Spain would abandon all other interests rather than fail her allies.

In the meantime the Spanish Ministers, still relying on the Levellers, made a fresh effort to reconcile Sexby with the Royalists. Their endeavours to do this, and incidentally to reconcile the King with Buckingham, had harassed Charles throughout the summer and autumn, but now at last there appeared a chance of success.[4] Sexby, who had hitherto held aloof, suddenly declared to Don Alonso his intention to 'resign himself up to serve the King, as he should direct,'[5] and on November 22 Talbot conveyed to the King his offer to go to England with 1000 Irish foot and 400 horse of any nation, wherewith he doubted not to effect his

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 25, November 13, 1656.
[2] *Ibid.*, liii. fol. 31.
[3] *Ibid.*, liii. fol. 63, November 27, 1656.
[4] *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 449, 710; *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. ff. 88, 93, 101, 318; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 150, 165, 186.
[5] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 39, November 18, 1656.

purpose very shortly. All points at issue he consented to leave for the decision of a free Parliament, but he stipulated for 'two good estates' to be bestowed upon himself and Wildman.[1] At the same time Don Juan expressed a desire to see the King at Brussels,[2] and thither Charles came with his sister on the afternoon of Tuesday, December 14. On the following day he was admitted to a conference with Don Juan, who laid before him Sexby's proposals to Spain. In these the Leveller pointed out that the interest of Spain was concerned in giving Cromwell trouble at home, which might be done by either Royalists or Levellers. The Levellers were sure of three ports at least, and confident that the greater part of the army and 'the most considerable persons of England' would join them. They required, however, the aid of 1000 Irish foot and a supply of 500 horses, for which they could find riders, and in the case of themselves being the instruments selected they begged that the Royalists might be enjoined to forbear mention of the King and to proclaim only 'the liberties of the country.'

1656 December

'If your Highness doth judge it more convenient that the King's partie shall begin the war in England, I shall be very satisfied with it,' concluded Sexby, 'and I will doe my endeavours to help to set it forward and to destroy Cromwell.'[3]

Charles was equally ready to let the Levellers begin and to permit his friends to join them on their own terms, but he pointed out that his forces in Flanders could not be employed without sacrificing the secrecy desired by Sexby, and he altogether declined to suspend his own enterprise in favour of Sexby, who did not definitely undertake that his party would serve the King eventually. Thus their success might mean merely a change of foe

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. ff. 49, 66; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 208.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 87.

[3] *Ibid.*, liii. ff. 87, 98, 103; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 315; *Thurloe Papers*, v. p. 709; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Vernatt to Thurloe, December 6-16, 1656.

while their failure would be almost as prejudicial to the Royalists as the defeat of their own friends. In any case Charles considered his own chance the better one, and his own party more united and of more weight than Sexby's. Also he positively refused to agree to any fundamental alterations in Church or State, or to grant pardon to any of the regicides. He instructed Bristol to assure Sexby of his esteem for himself and Wildman, and to inform the Spaniards privately that Wildman was in close correspondence with the Royalists, and not inclined to trust Sexby. He repeated his determination to go to England, suggesting February as a suitable time for the invasion of England, Ireland, and Scotland, simultaneously, and he desired the due quartering and maintenance of his four regiments, particulars of the forces, arms, ammunition, and money about to be furnished by Spain, and some immediate assistance for the sending of the necessary messengers and agents to England, and for the settlement of his own debts.[1]

On December 18, in a second interview with Don Juan, Charles pressed for more open recognition, and on the next day Bristol spoke 'very home' about money matters, and received a kind reply, with a request for memorials concerning the King's affairs.[2]

Four memorials were accordingly prepared and presented by Bristol on December 22.

In the first Charles desired to know whether his cause had been pressed at Rome, referred to his 'indulgence' towards his Roman Catholic subjects, and repeated his request that the Roman Catholic clergy should be urged to raise money for him.

In the second he desired that the Spanish Ambassador at the Hague should press the Dutch to unite with Spain and the Royalists against France, Sweden, and England, and to assure them that they should suffer no injury from the House of Orange.

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 55; liii. ff. 107, 109.
[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 216.

In the third he stated that Middleton was prepari an expedition to Scotland, and suggested that the Iri in Spain should be sent back to their own country. A in the fourth he represented the need of sendi messengers to England, and begged that 4000 5000 crowns might be advanced to defray th charges, without which it would be impossible for the to go.[1]

1657 January

Don Juan replied that all was 'so adjusted' for t expedition that if the money were obtained, and t expected opportunity occurred within fifteen days, the would be no hesitation in executing all that had be proposed.[2] Three days later Don Alonso inform Bristol that 'acientos' for great sums were already pr pared in Spain.[3]

In the same month a proposal to make Condé's frien De Marchin, Lieutenant-General of Charles's army, pr voked the French Prince to inquire into the real inte tions of Spain. If she really endeavoured the Engli King's restoration Condé was willing to lend his offic to the enterprise, but if the intention was merely divert Cromwell he could not suffer him to be engag in it.

To this Caracena responded 'frankly' that they we 'resolved to apply themselves thoroughly,' engaging th best troops in the affair, and Condé, professing hims satisfied, consented to the transfer of De Marchir services. De Marchin therefore accepted the place Lieutenant-General under James, and subsequent visited Charles at Bruges, where he was duly informed the state of affairs and was 'mightily caressed.'[4]

On January 16 Don Alonso told Bristol th 800,000 crowns had actually arrived, and promised procure immediate payment of the money, and Brist

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 122; *Thurloe*, v. pp. 702, 715.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 158, January 6, 1657.
[3] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 319, January 9, 1657.
[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. ff. 181, 186.

did not hesitate to assure Ormonde that the preparations advanced every day. But when Taafe and O'Neil arrived at Brussels to claim the promised funds, they were put off with a promise of receiving them within the next three weeks, and report said that Don Juan had lost not only the sum intended for England, but as much more again, to Condé at play.[1]

In the meantime misfortune and treachery had considerably reduced the chances of forcing the projected invasion. Certain letters, addressed to the King, were betrayed to the Government by their bearer, Lady Hall; a paper concerning the Royalist plans was discovered in the possession of Sir Thomas Peyton, then a prisoner in the Tower, and at the same time occurred the death of Sir Robert Shirley. The services of two of his most trusted agents were thus lost to Charles simultaneously, and before the end of January the Levellers' plot had come to an untimely end.[2]

Their scheme had been to murder the Protector, secure the ports of Plymouth and Portsmouth, and raise the country with the cry of 'liberty, religion, and taking away of taxes,' while Charles, at the same time, landed near Lynn with the Spanish forces.[3]

The chief agents in the assassination plot were Miles Syndercombe, late a quartermaster in the army, who had been cashiered in Scotland, and a certain John Cecill, who was engaged by Syndercombe with promises of reward and profit, and with assurances that the Spanish alliance would prove better than the French, and Charles Stuart a better ruler than 'the present tyrant.' Funds were supplied from Flanders through Sexby, and the first idea was to fall upon the Protector with a party of forty men as he rode in Hyde Park. Notice of his movements was supplied by John Toop, one of the

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 241; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 229, 241, 244.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 95; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 206, 215, 216, 221; *Thurloe*, v. pp. 572, 576-578, 668, 690, 691, 694, 778.

[3] *Thurloe*, v. pp. 602, 694, 755.

Life-Guard, and many horses were bought by the conspirators, but after several attempts the scheme failed. They then thought of hiring a house on the road, at Hammersmith, and shooting from it as the Protector went by to Hampstead, but this also failed, and they finally resolved to fire Whitehall, and trust to some chance of accomplishing their purpose in the consequent confusion. Having 'provided a firework in a hand-basket,' made by another conspirator, Boyes, they brought it to Whitehall and endeavoured to place it there with the connivance of Toop on January 2-12. Being disappointed in this, they removed it to Cecill's lodgings, but returned with it on Thursday, January 8-18, and placed it in the chapel about six P.M., expecting the explosion to occur soon after midnight.[1] But Toop had in the meantime revealed all to the Protector and both conspirators were arrested. Cecill turned evidence at once, and revealed all that he knew, but he was acquainted with only three of his fellow-conspirators, Syndercombe, Boyes, and Wood. The first of these remained staunch to his friends, took all responsibility on himself, and, with the aid of his sister, evaded trial and execution by poisoning himself in prison.[2] The other two escaped to Flanders, where they gave a dismal account of the catastrophe, declaring all England to be 'so depraved, covetous, cowardly, and false' that though Cromwell was universally execrated, love or hatred ended alike in words.[3] Sexby, however, refused to despair, and merely announced his intention of setting in train a new scheme.[4]

Letters addressed to the King by the Levellers of Howard's party were equally encouraging. Thanks to Syndercombe's resolute loyalty, they had not suffered from the recent failure, and they now proposed to print

[1] *Thurloe*, v. pp. 774-775.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. ff. 258, 276; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 234, 241; *Mercurius Politicus*, February 10, 14, 1657.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 223; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 325.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. ff. 191, 258, 276, 278; liv. fol. 32; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 237, 239, 241, 254, 257, 326, 341.

their address to the King, with his reply, and to establish a regular correspondence with his agents.[1]

1657 February

They desired, therefore, that trustworthy agents might be sent over to prepare the Cavaliers for action, and O'Neil and Armorer were accordingly despatched.[2] To this period belongs the curious story of Cromwell's attempt to lure Charles to his own destruction. According to Echard, who professed to have derived the information from Thurloe's secretary, Morland, it was agreed between the Protector, Thurloe, and Richard Willys 'to invite the King to come over in a single ship, with only his two brothers, and a very few more, to a certain port in Sussex upon an appointed fixed day, where they were promised to be received and supported by 500 foot at their first landing, and 2000 horse within one day after.' The real design was to shoot all three brothers as they landed, and the letters were of course concocted and despatched by the quondam Cavalier, Willys. But Morland, having accidentally overheard the conversation of the conspirators, contrived to send Henshaw over to warn the King, and he therefore declined the invitation.[3]

March

The story is in many respects improbable, for it is unlikely that Willys would have lent himself to such a design, and it is certain that Charles was not made aware of his treachery by Morland until 1659. In any case Armorer and O'Neil soon discovered that the Royalists at home were too much depressed and broken to undertake a new enterprise. Though John Mordaunt promised five hundred horse in Sussex, and the strength of the west was reckoned at 1500 horse and 2000 foot, Rumbold warned Ormonde to expect nothing at home without the concurrence of some 'happy accident,' and Cromwell's final refusal of the kingly title put an

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 234; *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 264.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 94, April 4, 1657.

[3] Echard, *Thurloe*, i. Preface.

end to the hope of a division in the army.[1] Charles, thrown back on the reluctant Spaniards, ceased to be an immediate danger to England, yet the Government continued for some time to anticipate invasion, and Thurloe adjured his spies to send him instant warning of the embarkation. In March he was informed that this was imminent, and that Ormonde had already gone to Brussels for the necessary money.'[2] But in point of fact Ormonde's mission was to quite a contrary effect; he went not to receive money, but to solicit it, and 'to expostulate with Don Alonso for his coldness.' The Spaniard's reply proved altogether unsatisfactory, and Charles thereupon announced his intention of postponing his expedition to the following winter, but begged that the promised funds might be placed at his disposal in case his friends were too far engaged to draw back.[3]

Ormonde's account of his ensuing interview with Caracena reduced the King to a state of irritable despair, and caused him to recall O'Neil, Armorer, and his other agents from England.[4]

1657 April 'For there is no dependence upon these people to begin it,' wrote the Chancellor. . . . 'We shall defer it agayne till winter, and in the meantyme your Master will do the best he can to bring it into his power to execute his designs next season, without depending on others.'[5]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. ff. 7, 94, 108; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 251, 255, 266, 336.

[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 230, 235, 236, 250, 252, 259; *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 241; liv. fol. 42; *Thurloe*, v. p. 706; vi. p. 87.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 6; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 330; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 250.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 19; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 253.

[5] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 94, April 4, 1657.

CHAPTER IX

The Court at Bruges—Poverty—Religious Questions—Proposal of Aubigny—Testimony to Charles's Piety—Return of Mary from France—Family Dissensions—Interference of Bristol—Flight of James—Agitation at Court—Alarm of the Spaniards—Grievances of James—Return of James—Departure of Mary—Mission of Bennett to Spain—Difficulties of Charles—Surrender of St. Ghislain—Visit of Charles to Brussels—Death of the Emperor—Consequences—Middleton in Poland—Levies in Flanders—Miserable Condition of the King's Troops—Promises of Don Juan—English Soldiers in the French Army—Charles's Troops sent to the Field—Attempts of James to Recruit—Jealousy of Spain—Dispute with Condé—The Spanish Generals—The Campaign of 1657—Reputation of James.

WHILE Hyde and Bristol contended with the Spaniards and with one another, the 'family' at Cologne had been released from 'pawn,' and Charles had again gathered round him 'a great Court,' of which the official list ran as follows: 1656 September-December

Marquis of Ormonde, Viceroy of Ireland.
Earl of Bristol, Councillor and Secretary of State.
Earl of Norwich.
Earl of Rochester, Gentleman of the Bedchamber.
Lord Wentworth.
Lord Culpepper.
Lord Gerard, Gentleman of the Chamber.
Sir Edward Nicholas, Councillor and Secretary of State.
Sir Edward Hyde, Councillor and Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Messrs. Harding, Elliot, O'Neil, and Blague of the Bedchamber.

Darcy, Whitley, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and Sir William Fleming of the Privy Chamber.

Doctors Earle, Creighton, and Mr. Lloyd, Chaplains; Mr. Erskine, Cupbearer.

Sir Edward Walker, Sir George Lane, and Mr. Jane, Clerks of the Council of State.

Mr. Heath, Jurisconsult.

Armorer and Progers, Esquires.

George Hamilton and John Skelton, Pages of Honour.

Dr. Whittaker, Physician.

Mr. Knight, Surgeon.

With sixteen inferior household officers, besides footmen, grooms, and postillion.

The Bishop of Derry.

Sir James Hamilton.

Sir John Mennes.

Servants of the Duke of Gloucester.

Sir Charles Cotterel, Secretary.

Robert Phelipps and John Griffith of the Chamber.

Robert Lovell, Chaplain.

Mr. Trethewey.

And four under officers, three footmen, and two grooms.[1]

Though Ormonde assured Hyde in October, 'Wee are wondrous merry, and divert ourselves at home and abroad,'[2] the accession to his retinue was in truth a serious embarrassment to Charles. Henry's expenses alone were over 900 guilders a month,[3] and on all sides the King was beset with complaints and prayers for assistance.[4] To satisfy all was an impossibility, and to refuse any was to produce dissension and wounded feelings.

Further, the assemblage of a povery-stricken and

[1] *Cal. Domestic State Papers*, December 4, 1657; *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 23, November 11, 1656.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 292.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 208, 220.

heterogeneous crowd of Royalists in Flanders, could not fail to produce scandal and disorder. A church was robbed in Bruges, and there followed other 'accidents' of a like nature, the defacement of an image, and an insult to the Sacred Host, all of which increased the difficulties of Charles's position.[1] Though the offered apologies were kindly received by the Bishop and Don Alonso, the question of religion had been raised, and the Bishop, for all his courtesy, would not undertake to sanction the celebration of Anglican Rites in his diocese. It was feared that Talbot, who had quarrelled violently with O'Neil over the conversion of a servant boy, might do the Court 'ill-offices' in this respect, and though Don Alonso at least was aware of the need for the King 'to keep up his repute' in matters of religion, his attitude was not reassuring, while with Don Juan Charles's conversion was avowedly 'a favourite point.'[2]

Bishop Burnet asserts that this had already taken place in France, and that the secret was known only to the Cardinal De Retz and Charles's own cousin, Lord Aubigny;[3] but had this been the case, Charles would certainly have acquainted Don Juan with a secret so much to his own advantage. Moreover, the correspondence between himself and Lord Aubigny[4] gives the lie to the assertion. Writing to warn Charles of an attempted rapprochement between Cromwell and the Roman Catholics, Aubigny proposed to obviate it by a scheme for the conversion of Henry of Gloucester, in which he offered to be instrumental.

By this means, he pointed out, Charles could, at one stroke, relieve himself of his brother's maintenance, and win all Roman Catholics to his cause. But he begged that the whole affair might be concealed from the Queen,

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. ff. 51, 57, 205; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 232; *Thurloe*, v. p. 645.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lii. fol. 205; liii. fol. 57; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 305, 311.

[3] Burnet's *History* (ed. 1833), p. 135.

[4] Canon of Notre Dame, Paris.

and revealed to no one besides Hyde and Ormonde. But Charles was too cautious, and his councillors were too honest to embrace the project, and the King's reply, conveyed by Bellings, was a very definite refusal of his consent.[1]

This steady adherence to Protestantism seems to have brought its own reward. The pious epistles of the Scottish minister, James Hamilton, assured Charles that there were still some to 'bear him up before the Lord in prayer,' and to 'tell him the Lord's Mynd plainlie.'[2] And in a curious letter addressed to Cromwell from Bruges in December 1656, a certain Walter Gootelowe gave a glowing account of the King's piety and devotion, and of the 'harmony and good affection' prevalent in the royal family.[3]

1656 December

In point of fact Charles's family relations were the very reverse of harmonious. Even his devoted sister was now estranged from him, and when she visited him in December, on her return from France, he was both disappointed and chagrined to discover that she had wholly deserted the cause of his Court for that of the Queen. Her sympathies were no longer with the Chancellor and Spain, but with the Queen and the Palais Royal. James now occupied the place in her affections formerly held by Charles, and this change was the more bitter because James and Charles themselves were not on the best of terms.

The younger brother had obeyed the summons of the elder with an ill grace. He had indeed been well received in Flanders; money had been sent to await him at Bruges, and 'speciall order given—in all places—for his reception as if the King of Spain—forsooth—had been there in person.'[4] But all the Spanish courtesies failed to

[1] *Thurloe*, i. pp. 740-745; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 325, July 13, 1657.

[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 135.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 673-675.

[4] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 304; *Thurloe*, v. p. 432.

wean the young Duke's heart from France, and served only to excite the jealousy of the King. Moreover, James, like his sister, belonged now to the party of the Palais Royal, having been long since reconciled to his mother and her favourite by his friends, Charles Berkeley and the younger Harry Jermyn. For these two, the respective nephews of Sir John Berkeley and Lord Jermyn, he had conceived a strong attachment, and Charles's attempt to counteract their influence by forcing his own friend, Henry Bennett, on his brother as secretary, had failed signally. James disliked Bennett personally, and deeply resented interference with his private concerns. He had been too long in an independent position to submit meekly to his elder brother, and the spirit in which he arrived was not conciliatory. Yet when Jermyn wrote beseeching him not to enter the Spanish service his loyalty to his Sovereign was proof even against his own wounded feelings, and he answered that, as a soldier of fortune, he had a perfect right to serve what power he chose. He agreed therefore to forfeit his French pension by joining the Spanish army, but this compliance only begot a new quarrel with Charles. Bristol, with his usual rashness, alarmed the Spaniards by demanding that a complete army should be placed under James's command, and they, remembering all that they had suffered from Condé and Lorraine, demanded in return that Charles's subjects should take an oath of fidelity to Spain. It was James's view that if the King had shown a resolute front the demand would have been withdrawn, but Charles yielded, and the news was communicated to James by young Cormac MacCarty. The Duke heard it with all the indignation that his informant expected, and, unable to credit it, immediately questioned Bristol on the subject. Bristol thereupon flew 'into a very high passion,' declared that whoever had given James the intelligence was 'a traitor and a villain,' and 'used many other passionate expressions which could scarcely be called arguments.' He spoke so loud that

the King, hearing from the next room, came in to take his part, and peremptorily demanded of James the name of his informant. James retorted that to name his friend, after what had passed, would be equivalent to accusing him of high treason, and therefore refused to do so. He knew, he added, that Bristol believed Berkeley to be the culprit, but when he was calm enough for reflection he would see that Berkeley could not possibly have obtained the information. As for himself, his knowledge was no crime; certainly he disapproved of the whole situation, but none the less he would obey the King.[1]

Bristol, rather ashamed of his violence, thereupon offered a kind of apology, excusing himself on the plea that 'zeal for the King's service' had misled him, and for a while there was a truce.

It could not be of long duration, for the household of the Duke was even less likely than himself to accept tamely its subordination to the King's Court. In truth, the Berkeleys and the younger Jermyn knew that they must be unwelcome in a Court ruled by Hyde and Bristol. Berkeley had a personal quarrel with Hyde, and no love for Bristol, while the fact that all three adhered to the party of the Palais Royal was in itself sufficient to make them odious at Bruges. Charles's attempts to detach Berkeley from the suite and substitute for him Sir George Radcliffe, 'an absolute creature of those who were most inward with his Majesty,' had failed owing to James's perception of his intentions.[2] But though the Duke had succeeded in bringing his 'best friends' with him to Flanders, they had been but coldly received, and he was conscious that their enemies were still on the watch 'to tear them from him,' and to fill their places with 'men in whom he put no trust,' and who considered not in the least the interests of their master, if they were put in the balance with their own . . . of which number were Sir Harry Bennett and Henry Killigrew,

[1] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. pp. 282-284.

[2] See page 234.

who, besides the malice which they had to their former fellow-servants, hoped, together with Sir George Radcliffe, to have the management of the Duke's money, and in time his favour also. James contemplated with dismay the 'miserable condition' in which he would find himself, if these schemes succeeded, and he clung to his friends with all the obstinate affection that characterised him.[1]

This state of affairs was not unknown to Mazarin and Cromwell, by whom it was somewhat mysteriously fostered. It was indeed the interest of both France and England to keep James from the service of Spain, and of Cromwell to keep the Stuarts divided against themselves, and Berkeley seems to have been the instrument selected for the purpose. Though himself no traitor, it is obvious that he was unconsciously 'managed' by Cromwell through the medium of the Cardinal and Jermyn, and in a letter dated December 26-January 5, 1656-7, the Protector personally thanked Mazarin for his diligence in the matter.

'And now I shall come to return your Eminency thanks for your judicious choice of that person to whom you have intrusted our weightiest affair, an affair wherein your Eminency is concerned, though not in equal degree and measure with myself. I must confess that I had some doubts of its success till Providence cleared them to me by the effects. I was not truly, and to speak ingenuously, without doubting—I did fear that Berkeley would not be able to go through and carry on that work, that either the Duke had cooled in his suit or condescended to his brother. I doubted also that those instructions I sent over by 290 were not clear enough as to expressions, some affairs here deneying me leisure at that time to be so particular as to some circumstances I would. If I am not mistaken in his character, as I received it from your Eminency that fire which is kindled between them now will not ask bellows to blow it or to

[1] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 279.

keep it burning. But what I think further necessary in this matter, I will send your Eminency by Lockhart.

'And now I shall boast to your Eminency my security upon a well-builded confidence in the Lord, for I distrust not, but if this breach be widened a little more, and this difference fomented, with some caution in respect of the person to be added to it, I distrust not but that party which is already forsaken of God, as to outward dispensations of mercy, and noysome to his countrymen, will grow lower in the opinions of all the world. If I have troubled your Eminency too long in this, you may impute it to the resentment of joy I have for the issue of that affair.'[1]

Whatever was the course recommended by the Protector, his plans were furthered by Bristol, who made a new attempt to remove Berkeley, and in a private interview with James offered to place him 'at the head of affairs' on condition that he bade John Berkeley retire from Court, as a person under the displeasure of the King, and odious to Spain for his French sympathies. James replied passionately that he would never abandon his servants, and the contest became 'the common discourse of the family.' Charles maintained that, according to 'old English custom' the younger princes could not choose their own servants, but James contended that the rule held good only when the King was also the father, and could not be applied in the case of a brother. Mary sided vehemently with the younger brother, and feeling became so strained that James at last resolved on flight.[2] Simulating despair he gave his consent to his friend's departure, secretly instructed him to await him at Flushing, and in the meantime kept his own counsel, bearing the reproaches of his sister and others in silence.

1657 January. Rising very early one morning in the beginning of January, he went to Henry's room, and, waking him, begged him to get up and come out shooting. While

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 318; *Thurloe*, v. p. 735.

[2] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. pp. 285-286; *Rawlinson MSS.*, cxv. ff. 217, 220.

Henry was dressing a message from Mary summoned James to her bedside, whither he went, full of fears that his scheme had been discovered. He was relieved to learn that she had sent for him to prevent a duel between two of her servants, and the darkness of the room screened his agitation. Resisting his natural desire to bid her farewell, he left her able to declare her ignorance of his purpose when questioned, and after dutifully waiting on the King, he set out with Henry, Charles Berkeley, and Harry Jermyn, leaving Bennett and Henry Killigrew behind.[1] At Sluys he informed Henry that he was about to meet some one on business from England, and left him to shoot on the moor, with directions to return alone to Bruges in case he did not rejoin him within an hour or two. He then proceeded to Flushing, where he met Sir John Berkeley, with whom he went on the same night to Middleburgh. But the hard frost blocked the passage thence to Utrecht, and the fugitives therefore turned aside to Veere, where they found a French ship in harbour. James would fain have embarked forthwith, but Charles Berkeley restrained him, urging the danger of search by English men-of-war, and eventually they went by waggon to Bommene, thence by boat to Helvoetsluys, and finally to Utrecht, where James was resolved to await a letter from the King. There he was offered hospitality by the Baron Van Zulestein, a natural son of Henry, Prince of Orange, who had married an English Killigrew, and at his country house the young Duke remained quietly for about a week. Before the end of that time he had begun to repent a little of his hasty action, and on January 8 he indicted a semi-apology to his brother.

'This is the first time that I have had any need to make an apology to your Majesty,' he wrote, 'and if some violent persons had not induced your Majesty to press that upon me that was never proposed to anybody else I had still remained without the necessity of any.

[1] *Memoirs*, i. pp. 287-291; *Thurloe*, v. pp. 770, 778, 784.

Nevertheless I beseech your Majesty to believe that though they may be able to disturb my peace they shall never shake my zeal and affection to your person and service, nor hinder me from sacrificing all interest but that of my honour to your Majesty. And I hope you will excuse me if I am somewhat tender therein since I have little else left, and that without it I shall never be able to be of use and service to your Majesty, which is the greatest ambition I have in the world. . . . And God that knows my heart, discerns that if I had ever so many lives, I would throw them all at your Majesty's feet, as I do myself, begging that you would believe me to be what I truly am, Sir, your Majesty's Most Obedient Brother and most humble subject and servant, JAMES.'[1]

This letter, though indicative of some regret, was far from offering complete submission, and did little to allay the consternation into which the Duke's 'unimaginable sally' had thrown the Court at Bruges. Charles assumed forthwith that his brother had fled to France, and in his first dismay he did not scruple to accuse his sister of complicity. Mary refuted the accusation with much resentment, and at once wrote to demand from Heenvliet an urgent recall to Holland.

'Je vois bien que l'on me soupçonne de savoir quelque chose,' she complained. . . . 'Je vous confesse que c'étant que mon frère n'est plus ici je suis comme si j'étais toute seule, n'ayant personne à qui je puis parler librement.'[2]

Charles, in the meantime, used every effort to avert the impending catastrophe. Though obliged to pawn his own George to raise funds for the journey, he had at once despatched Ormonde to Zeeland, with a letter from himself, conjuring James's return by the memory of his father. And when Ormonde came back on January 7 with the news that the Duke had already reached Holland, Blague was sent hastily to intercept him at

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 317; *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 64.
[2] *Rawlinson MSS.*, A. cxv. fol. 220, January 5, 1657.

JAMES, DUKE OF YORK.
From the engraving by Stent in the British Museum.

Cologne, in case he should take that route to France, and empowered to induce his return with offers of full satisfaction on all points.[1]

This was in accordance with the advice of Bristol, who urged that 'noe compliance with the Duke's weakness' should be omitted to win him back, excepting only the recall of John Berkeley.[2]

He added assurances of his own readiness to be sacrificed in the cause, and asserted to Hyde his confidence of being able to bring the Duke back if he only knew where to find him. Fortunately he was without the requisite knowledge, and his presence was urgently needed in Brussels to allay the alarm and resentment of the Spaniards,[3] who were hardly less perturbed than Charles himself. Peter Talbot, now brought again to the front, seized the opportunity to shake Bristol's credit by accusing him as the cause of the whole disaster, and Bristol, unable to silence him, could only hope, as he wrote to Hyde, that the Jesuit might soon be sent to 'a more religious life, for the good of his soul.' 'Unless,' he added, 'he goes, as you say, suddenly into England, for in that case possibly he may be a martyr, which is all the hurt I wish him, God forgive you your uncharitablenesse of wishing him in a well.'[4]

In their opinion of Talbot, Chancellor and Secretary were at one, but the crisis had, nevertheless, been fertile of bickerings and dissensions between them. Hyde's complaints of Bristol's vague and contradictory communications obtained only the light reply, 'I confess there was somewhat in the expressions too subtle for so fat a man's understanding,' while the Secretary on his side had much to say of the Chancellor's neglect to acquaint him with important details, a neglect which hampered

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 203; *Carte MSS.*, xxx. fol. 418, January 8, 1657.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. ff. 87, 177.

[3] *Ibid.*, liii. fol. 160.

[4] *Ibid.*, liii. ff. 87, 162, 177; *Clarendon State Papers*, pp. 318, 320, 321.

his negotiations and rendered him 'ridiculous' in the eyes of the Spanish Ministers.

'Is it not a strange thing that you should not have had the care of sending me copies of what the Duke writ to the King, and of the King's answer, and which way those sent to the Duke are directed to steer? But that in such a rencounter as this I must be made ridiculous to Don Juan, when he asks my advice how to conforme his part unto that of those employed by his Majesty?' he asked. 'But can I wonder at this, or at anything when upon my Lord of Ormonde writing to me that he had not money to bear George Lane's charges hitherward, and your telling me that the King was fain to pawn his George to enable my Lord of Ormonde, for his journey, I take occasion to represent unto Don Juan what I think fit upon the point of seeing such a person as my Lord of Ormonde reduced to such extremityes, and he tells me, though with excuses, for the littlenesse of it, that my Lord of Ormonde had 500 crowns a month pension, as duly paid him as the King's; whereof it could not but appeare to him that I had no kind of knowledge. How a divell if I be thus used is it possible that I can persuade him of our threes being in so perfect an intelligence together, which certainly is necessary enough to his Majesty's service to give you the care of not exposing me thus?'[1]

In the meantime Don Juan had himself written to urge James's return, but the Duke's reply, received at Brussels on January 24, merely excused his conduct on account of 'the violence offered him in severing him from his faithfullest servants, with intent to impose others upon him,' and expressed a desire to remain in retirement. Don Juan thereupon invited him to Brussels and offered himself 'as an interposer for the accommodation of all things,' thus affording a fair means 'to bring off the Duke with honour, and piece up so unlucky a breach.'[2]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 205, January 25, 1657.
[2] *Ibid.*, liii. ff. 162, 207.

But James, encouraged by letters from his mother, and fortified with assurances of a cordial welcome in France, was not to be lightly regained.[1] He yielded only so far as to transfer himself from Zulestein to Breda, and thence, on January 28, he despatched to Charles an elaborate statement of his case. Opining that no harm could possibly be done by his retreat to a neutral place, and protesting, 'I had not taken this course if I had not been urged above what I was able to bear,' he proceeded to set forth his grievances in order. First came the forcing of Bennett into his service, and the King's command to honour and trust a man whom he intensely disliked, and whose 'comportments' towards himself were void of affection or respect; then the accusation concerning the sending of Tuke to England, 'which was no more nor less than to charge me with high treason without ever producing the author of so false, so wicked, and so groundless an accusation.' Next James recapitulated the circumstances of his reluctant withdrawal from France, the implied promise that he should not be forced to fight against that country, his own repetition of that promise to the Cardinal and Turenne, the King's repudiation of it on his arrival in Flanders, and the pressure put upon him to call his regiment from the French army.

All, even to this last blot upon his honour had been endured with patience, because it proceeded from the King, and yet it did not suffice.

'It was not enough to serve the Spaniards in general, unless I consented immediately, before there was any occasion, or men, to command against the army under M. Turenne, who is one of the men in the world I am the most obliged to and have the greatest value for.' To this had been added the Spanish demand for an oath of fidelity from the King's levies, and in this connection Bristol had heaped insult upon injury by declaring that Sir John Berkeley would be held solely responsible for any recalcitrance on the part of the Duke, 'which was to

[1] *Macpherson Papers*, ii. pp. 23, 166.

tell me fairly to my face that I had no sense of my own,' alleged the plaintiff.

Finally there were the ceaseless attempts of Bristol, backed by the authority of the King and Don Juan, to 'tear' from the Duke all his most 'valued' servants, and to fill their places with men whom he distrusted, 'which is a condition of life more miserable than the meanest of your Majesty's servants is acquainted with.'

In conclusion, James subjoined a list of conditions, five in number, on which he would return to Bruges. The King was to hold no one responsible for the recent events but James himself; he was to promise thenceforth to communicate instantly and personally to his brother any accusations brought against him, together with the sources of the reports; to instruct his council 'to live with due respect' towards James, and with 'justice' towards his suite, to clear up 'clouds of discontent,' and restore harmony to the family, and to give his full and free consent to Sir John Berkeley's return to Court.[1]

1657 February

Charles was obliged to own himself defeated, and on receipt of this communication he at once sent Ormonde back to his brother with assurance of his acquiescence on all points, provided that James would promise, on his side, never to communicate with his mother or Jermyn on matters of political importance.[2] This promise was promptly given, and on the day after Ormonde's arrival the Duke set out for Bruges, but though he was made welcome by his brother the family relations continued strained.

'Si vous étiez ici pour y voir comme les affaires se passent, vous ne trouverez pas ce bien fort agréable pour une personne qui aime de vivre en repos,' wrote Mary to Heenvliet, and on Monday, February 28, she set out for Holland, whither she returned gladly, for the first time in her life.[3] Her brothers escorted her as far as Sluys, and

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 321-323, 328; *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 292.
[2] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 279-293.
[3] *Rawlinson MSS.*, A. cxv. fol. 229, February 7, 1657.

the journey was not without adventure, being rendered perilous by the kindly intentions of the garrisons by which they passed.

'At Damme as they went out of the boat the garrison, for welcome, gave volley, and the sentry, a poor lame boy, discharged his musket, which it was proved was loaded with many little bullets, whereof one or two went further into Jack Forbes's body than was convenient, another into his arm, and another into his legge. And Mr. Cooper, who was with him, took one into his hand and another into his legge. The King, who was but a step before them, saw the fellow handle his musket unskilfully, and making a little haste, told them, "He will be amongst you, my masters." . . . At Sluys they did the business more within themselves, and from the castle shot a soldier upon the rampart, through the heade, another in the necke, and hurt a thirde.'

Further than Sluys Charles dared not go, and thence he turned back to Bruges. The younger brothers proceeded as far as Breda, and having passed one night there with their sister, rejoined the King on Wednesday, February 28.[1]

Their return was soon followed by that of Berkeley, who offered a formal apology for any offence, unwittingly given by him to his Sovereign, and was thereupon reinstated at Court, and, in the following year, created Baron Berkeley.

Bennett was dismissed from the Duke's suite and sent into honourable banishment as the King's agent at Madrid.[2]

His instructions were to negotiate on all the points already submitted to the ministers in Flanders, namely, the abrogation of the King's incognito, the raising of his separate army, the opening of the ports in Flanders, Spain, and Italy, the supply of money, the preparation of an expedition to England, the persuading of the Levellers

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 302, February 28, 1657.

[2] *French Papers*, R. O., Bampfylde to Thurloe, June 7-17, 1657.

to coalesce with the King, and the sending of succours to Ireland. In addition to this he was to induce the King of Spain to press for the 100,000 rix dollars promised by the Emperor to Charles, and to collect the King's dues from any English vessels found in Spanish ports.[1] Having submitted these instructions to Don Juan and Caracena, Bennett set out for Madrid *via* Paris, where he was charged to deliver letters from the King to the Queen. Henrietta received him more cordially than he had expected, but counselled him to make no stay in her house, since it could do him no good with Spain, and her none with France. Jermyn offered a half-hearted invitation to dinner, but when Bennett repeated the Queen's remark, replied 'little and coldly' and did not renew the invitation. Altogether there was little inducement to linger in France, and Bennett made what haste he could to San Sebastian, where he found five frigates sailing under the King's commission, but failed to obtain
1657 March money from them.[2] Thence he passed on to Madrid, where he arrived on Friday, March 23, and, on the following Tuesday, he obtained an interview with Don Luis de Haro, to whom he represented the assurances given to Charles of easy possession of a port in England. On April 4 he was presented to the King, and closely questioned as to whether Blake, Lambert, or Venables had ever made overtures to his master; but though both King and minister expressed an anxiety to assist Charles nothing of importance passed.[3]

April Subsequently the envoy discovered that the ministers at Madrid were, or feigned to be, wholly ignorant of the negotiations in Flanders, and he accordingly presented them with a memorial of all the points on which he was instructed to treat. But though he continued to shower papers upon them, and to diligently visit the Members

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 149; liv. fol. 97.

[2] *Ibid.*, liii. fol. 285; liv. fol. 30; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 328; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 238.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. ff. 30, 76, 92.

of Council, his efforts produced no visible effect, and he began to understand that he had entered upon a tedious and probably futile business.[1] The Spanish Ministers were still possessed by Don Alonso with hopes of the Levellers, Peter Talbot was seeking to undermine Bennett's credit by representing him as a mere 'creature' of Bristol, while the unfortunate miscarriage of Hyde's letters and Bennett's consequent lack of news from Bruges caused him to be regarded as a person little valued by his own Court.[2]

'If you were content but to send me empty papers, the covers only written every week, my reputation would be in some measure saved, how unsatisfied so ever my curiosity remained. But now both suffer, when 'tis said that in so many posts the King of England's Minister hath received no letters,' wrote Bennett to Hyde to whose negligence he attributed the long silence.[3] In addition to his other troubles he suffered from the poverty which Hyde had discovered some years earlier must always attend the ambassador of an exiled King; and in May his difficulties were increased by the arrival of Sir George Hamilton and Lord Muskerry who came to recruit among the Irish in Spain, and to solicit money and arms for a new rising in Ireland. Though they went so far as to represent as facts what were merely hopes, they obtained no better success than Bennett had done, and were soon in even greater straits of poverty, being actually dependent upon him for their food. 'I am remembering all the good meals I made with you at Cologne and Bruges,' wrote Bennett to Hyde on November 21, 1657 . . . 'and yet I wish we may never see those blessed daies again, but insteade of them many unlike them in good old England, where one turfe is

1657 May

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. ff. 97, 157; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 270, 288, 290.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 267.

[3] *Ibid.*, liv. fol. 281, May 30, 1657.

worth all Spaine. . . . Pray, sir, be pleased to use a little diligence to get us thither.'[1]

But the diligence of Hyde availed little more than that of Bennett himself. The offence caused to the Spaniards by James's escapade had indeed been allayed; the Duke had himself written to thank Philip IV. for his hospitality, and assure him of a desire to serve him, and had been formally reconciled to Don Juan by Peter Talbot. But the reconciliation brought no material benefits, and when Don Juan sought to cement it by an invitation to Brussels, want of money precluded its acceptance.[2]

1657 February — By the end of January Charles was two months deep in debt, and Hyde protested to Mottet that the importunities to which the King's poverty subjected him made him 'weary of life.'[3] On the 7th of March he informed Ormonde that not so much as five pounds could be raised for the military service, that £500 was now due to a certain Harvey, and that the King had already 'broken shamefully' his engagement to repay the loan of the merchant, John Shaw. Don Juan promised supplies, and directed application to the 'Contador,' but when the application was made, no order for payment had been received. It could only be concluded that the promise was 'a mere flourish,' Charles was reduced to selling his coach-horses, and his unfortunate adherents were daily arrested for debt, or forced to pawn all that they possessed to avoid imprisonment.[4]

March — 'All the divells in hell take them,' ejaculated Hyde, reflecting on the frailty of the Spaniards' promises. Nor was the lack of money the only ground of his indignation. The difficulties of the passes had been renewed by the Governor of Gravelines' refusal to let a Royalist pass under a fictitious name. 'I beseech you make this folly

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. ff. 157, 177, 281; lv. ff. 78, 132; lvi. ff. 174, 176, 217, 235, 237.

[2] *Ibid.*, liii. ff. 251, 302; liv. fol. 135; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers* iii. p. 294; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., March 5, 1657.

[3] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 240.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. ff. 14, 37, 62, March 14, 17, 1657.

and madness and incivility be understoode, and lett them consider whether it be possible that such persons as these are can passe by their true names,' wrote the Chancellor to Ormonde.[1] Ten days later he had to complain of the Governor of Ostend's conduct to a sailor who brought in a vessel from the rebels to that port. Instead of being welcomed, he had been turned out of the town, not being even permitted to purchase provisions, and Lendall, who went to negotiate the sale of the ship, was arrested, kept under guard all night, and next day put 'rudely' into a boat with the information that no Scot or Englishman would be suffered to enter the town. This was the more disconcerting as it was rumoured that two good ships of the English fleet were ready to come over, and Charles bade Ormonde complain sharply to Caracena, protesting that he would no longer endure such humiliating treatment.[2]

As a result of this remonstrance the Vice-Admiral of Flanders came to Bruges in person with letters of apology,[3] and at the end of March 1657 there occurred an event which considerably revived the spirits of the Spaniards, and gave Charles at least a temporary importance in their eyes. This event was the capture of the little fortress of St. Ghislain through the intervention of the Earl of Bristol. St. Ghislain had been taken by the French on August 25, 1655, and standing as it did within four leagues of Brussels, had proved a source of great disquiet to the Spaniards. It was now garrisoned by a force under Schombergh, the greater part of which consisted of Irish troops, and some of the Irish officers, relations of George Lane, offered to surrender the place, if the action could benefit the King. Ormonde refused to negotiate the affair, from scruples of honour, but Bristol seized upon the suggestion as a Heaven-sent opportunity. Having entered into communication with the Irish

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 302.
[2] *Ibid.*, liv. ff. 14, 19, March 7, 9, 1657.
[3] *Ibid.*, liv. fol. 42, March 8, 1657.

officers, he induced Don Juan to march to St. Ghislain, and requested Taafe to send thither the Irish regiment which he commanded. Taafe, for some curious reason, ordered only 100 of his men to march, but the soldiers proving 'wiser and dutifuller than their commander,' marched off all together and joined Bristol at St. Ghislain. Schombergh had meanwhile discovered the conspiracy and arrested some of the leaders, but too late. When the assault began Bristol mounted the works, calling to the soldiers, 'What! are ye mad to fight against your own King?' Upon which the Irish threw down their arms and admitted their countrymen to the outposts.

The fort was thus rendered untenable and Schombergh capitulated, obtaining leave to depart with such of his men as chose to follow him. The most of the Irish, however, remained behind and were formed into a sixth regiment for the King, being commanded for a short time by Bristol and subsequently by Colonel Farrell.[1]

This small success greatly encouraged the Spaniards and disconcerted the French.

'They plainly and publicly say here that M. Digby and the English are the cause of the loss of St. Ghislain. I hope the Spaniard also saith it that he may make acknowledgement of his obligation,' wrote Sir Richard Browne from Paris.[2]

The Spaniards were ready to acknowledge it, and Bristol's favour with Don Juan, which had been on the wane since the quarrel with James, was again revived. 'If all reported there be true, the affair of St. Ghislain is by this time well over, and then our friend will be too high to be found fault with,' wrote Hyde to Ormonde. 'Yett a little chidynge will do him no harm, which he will take from you. You see how all those scruples and

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. ff. 60, 66, 149; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 260; *Clarendon, History*, xv. p. 80; *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvi. fol. 125; *Thurloe Papers*, vi. pp. 117, 132; *French Papers*, Thurloe to Lockhart, March 18-28, 1657.

[2] *French Papers*, April 3-13, 1657; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 328.

qualms of conscience and honour which he brought out of that nice school of France . . . are resolved into sounder theses and conclusions.' Charles also wrote to Ormonde expressing a hope that Bristol had not forgotten to provide for the new Irish troops, adding, 'I wish the stars would permit him to stay till I come to Brussels, or at least that we might see him before the second disapparition. Pray God that Taurus be as successful to him as Aries has been, and then I hope he will think a little more of terrestrial things and not run himself and his friends into inconveniences.'[1]

1656 April

But it was not Bristol alone who reaped the benefit of his exploit; Charles also had his share in it, and received in due time the formal thanks of Don Juan and of Philip IV.[2] Nor were more material acknowledgments lacking. Funds were at last found sufficient to enable the King and his brothers to pay the long projected visit to Brussels, and on Wednesday, April 11, Charles set out thither, accompanied by all who could 'compass so much money' as was needed for the journey.[3] His reception proved very different from that accorded to him in the previous December. At Ghent he was invited to a handsome 'collation' in the Monastery. At Alost he dined, and thence he was conducted in state to Brussels by some of the garrison. Immediately on his arrival he was visited by Don Juan, and later on the same day by Don Alonso. On the following morning the King passed an hour with Don Juan, and in the afternoon he received visits of ceremony from Condé and Caracena. On the Friday Don Juan met the two Dukes in the park and made 'ample acknowledgement' of the affair of St. Ghislain, and a few days later the three brothers were invited to a ball at which the Dukes danced, and the King 'behaved to admiration,' winning golden opinions from all beholders.

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 60; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 332; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 266.

[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 295, 361.

[3] *Thurloe*, vi. p. 151.

'Our Master is as much esteemed and loved as we could desire by all who have seen him here, and that is the greatest and best sort for all the nobility flock to him,' reported De Vic to Nicholas.[1]

Hyde confirmed the report on the following day with the information, 'The King spends his time not unpleasantly nor uselessly, having entered into another kind of conversation with Don Juan than is natural to an incognito condition. The other night they met at a ball and danced. Yesterday they played at long paume, a Spanish play with balls filled with wire, and to-morrow they have a match at tennis. They are very kind to each other. I see now why Don Juan had wanted us to defer our visit to this week, because they hoped money would be come, and yesterday the French letters brought bills from Madrid to what value I know not, but they look cheerfully upon it and say we shall speedily have a libranza for money. We have our eyes fixed on Holland to see how they will behave towards France. The English letters are not yet come.' He confessed, however, that business proceeded 'but slowly,' and that the lack of servants and messengers was a serious inconvenience. De Vic also lamented the continued want of money and the slow progress of business, but added that the King was in no hurry to return to the seclusion of Bruges.

'Meantime I think neither he nor his brothers are displeased to be here, and all the nobility is glad of it. They were yesterday publicly at the Comedy and sat in the Prince of Condé's box. This afternoon they go to the English Nunnery.'[2]

But on the next day Hyde expressed to Nicholas his sincere wish to be back at Bruges 'in this melancholy time,' for the death of the Emperor Ferdinand III. had put a sudden stop to all amusements, and not to amuse-

[1] *Flanders Papers*, Hyde to Nicholas, April 3-13, 1657; De Vic to Nicholas, April 7-17, 1657.

[2] *Ibid.*, Hyde to Nicholas, April 8-18, 1657; De Vic to Nicholas, April 9-19, 1657.

ments only.[1] Charles's hopes of making levies in the Empire, hitherto fostered by the Count of Neuburg and the Elector of Mainz, were at once dashed to the ground. Thenceforth the imperial election would occupy the attention of the German Princes. Spain would now be forced into a new struggle with France, for the election of an Emperor favourable to her interests, and the probability of either doing anything for Charles became more remote than ever.[2]

His consultations with Condé and the Spaniards had ended in a mere reiteration of former statements, and a resolve to postpone all attempts upon England until the next winter. Though the allowance for the visit to Brussels had been fixed at 400 guilders a day, not a penny of it had been received, and Hyde qualified his announcement that the King had 'got himself into mourning' for the Emperor with the comment, 'How he will pay for it God knows.'[3]

With the loss of hope came a renewal of all the old difficulties, aggravated now by the necessity of providing for the King's levies in Flanders and elsewhere. There was little difficulty in drawing troops together, but much in finding means to support them, and in April Middleton despatched to Nicholas a melancholy account of his position in Poland.

'The delay in arrival of yours has put me to great trouble and his Majesty to very great charges for these soldiers that are on my hand. I know not what to do with them. The disbanding of them will hinder any future levies in these parts for his Majesty's service. I cannot keep them beyond Tuesday, for I am at the end of all my little shifts. As to my countrymen, if ten ducats would do the business I could not draw it from

[1] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., April 10-20, 1657.

[2] *German Papers*, R. O., Roper to Nicholas, February 9, March 8, 1657, *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvi. fol. 128; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 338; *Thurloe*, vi. p. 198.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. ff. 149, 164; *Flanders Papers*, Hyde to Nicholas, April 15-25, 20-30, 1657; Ross to Nicholas, April 13-23, 1657.

them. Indeed they are inconsiderable, two excepted, and these complain so much of past injuries that no good can be done with them . . . 3000 guilders would pay all I owe.'[1]

But 3000 guilders were unobtainable, and Middleton, forced to abandon his levies, but unable to leave Danzig for debt, resigned himself to fate, with a rare reasonableness, declaring that he blamed neither the King nor his Ministers for not working miracles.[2]

'I do not wonder that Middleton is very sad, but if I were to be hanged for it I know not how to help it,' protested Hyde.[3]

It was indeed out of Charles's power to provide even for those who had joined him in Flanders.

Early in January Don Juan had approved his scheme for raising an army, and by the agreement then made, each of Charles's soldiers and officers became entitled to 7 and 14 stivers a day respectively, with free quarters. But, though a memorial of the project was forwarded to Madrid for ratification, the Spanish promises remained, as usual, ineffective, and when Nicholas hinted jealously at the prosperity of his countrymen in Brussels, Hyde answered him sardonically: 'Some officers here are finer in their clothes than you and I, but I know none that keeps a coach and six horses.'[4] As a matter of fact men and officers were in the direst distress and quite unable to obtain the support promised them. Five regiments were now in existence, three Irish, known as the Duke of York's, the Duke of Gloucester's, and Ormonde's, and commanded respectively by MacCarty, Taafe, and Colonel Grace; one Scottish commanded by Lord Newburgh for Middleton, and one English com-

[1] *Flanders Papers*, April 4-14, 18-28, 1657.

[2] *Ibid.*, Newburgh to Nicholas, April 9-19, 1657; *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 76; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 313, 379.

[3] *Flanders Papers*, R.O., April 15-25, 1657, Hyde to Nicholas.

[4] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 227, 323; *Carte MSS.*, xxx. fol. 435; *Flanders Papers*, R.O., April 20-30, 1657; Professor Firth, *Royalist and Cromwellian Armies in Flanders*; *Thurloe*, vi. p. 31.

manded by Sir William Throgmorton for Rochester. At the beginning of January 1657 Ormonde's regiment, numbering about 700 men, had been marched to Damme, near Bruges, where they found the barracks ruined, and the burghers unwilling to shelter them without direct order from Don Juan. The governor of the place gave what accommodation was possible 'out of civility,' and Ormonde contrived to raise a small sum on his private credit, but all did not suffice to provide bread for the men, and their disbanding seemed inevitable. In like manner the Scottish regiment suffered 'beyond what was tolerable' in Hainault, and the rest at Lierre, Louvain, and Brice le Conté were all reported 'in a very sad condition.'[1] 1657 January

In this miserable state of affairs De Vic was appointed to 'agitate' with the Spanish Ministers for payment of the troops, and by his diligent intercession temporary relief was obtained for the Irish regiments. Further solicitations produced a definite and detailed statement of what each colonel was entitled to demand. Recruits were to be mustered at Bruges, whereupon they would receive bread and ammunition, soldiers being lodged in barracks, the officers in burgesses' houses as the troops of his 'Catholic Majesty.' Each soldier was to be provided with fire, candles, salt, and bedcover at the expense of the town, and the officers were to be accommodated according to their rank. A major was entitled to two rooms, with the use of kitchen and stable. Captains and inferior officers were to have one room only 'with reasonable furniture'; non-commissioned officers were to be put two in one room with suitable bed-furniture. All were entitled to the use of the kitchen and 'service proportionable to their position.' This provision was to be required of the magistrates to whom the muster roll was to be presented; on the raising of any difficulties appeal was to be made to Don Juan.[2]

[1] *Carte MSS.*, xxx. fol. 429; ccxiii. fol. 90; *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 93.

[2] *Carte MSS.*, xxx. ff. 413, 421, 435; *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 186; *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report 13, Appendix vii. p. 19.

1657 March So far this was well, but the soldiers remained unpaid, the officers went in peril of arrest for debt, and desertion and disorder ensued. Many of those who had left the service of the Emperor, the Swedes or the Dutch, for that of their own sovereign withdrew again in consequence of Charles's inability to support them, and in March an unpaid captain of Ormonde's regiment threatened to plunder the town. The governor, hitherto 'magnified for extraordinary civility,' ordered his major to arrest him, the major refused to obey a Spanish order, and the colonel, Grace, was so bitterly offended that he refused to join his regiment at all. The sudden accession of Irish troops on the surrender of St. Ghislain increased the general difficulties;[1] by the end of March the Royalist army had doubled its numbers, mustering about 4000, and highly coloured accounts of its miserable and depraved condition were despatched to England by Thurloe's spies.

April 'Of all the armies in Europe there is none wherein so much debauchery is to be seen as in these few forces which the said King hath gotten together, being so exceedingly profane from the highest to the lowest. The Irish are trump among them and bear away the bell for number and preferment, being such as are most grateful to the Spaniard and surest to the Stuarts' interest because they are men implacable and irreconcilable to England.'[2]

And again:

'This country is all full of Charles Stuart's soldiers, better versed a great deal in the art of begging than fighting; all ragged, miserable creatures. Within town, they are the most importunate beggars, and without upon the highway, they are sturdie. Whosoever is there accosted by them must give, his feare makes him more liberal than his character.'[3]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 40; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 254, 256; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., February 28-March 8, 1657, Somers to Thurloe; April 2-12, 1657, Belling to Nicholas.

[2] *Mercurius Politicus*, April 21, 1657; Professor Firth.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 189.

At the beginning of April James endeavoured to bring order out of chaos by commanding a general muster, upon which he hoped that the officers might be received into regular pay. A little later the officers themselves memorialised Don Juan of the non-performance of the capitulation, and Charles promised to remain in Brussels until he had seen them provided for; in accordance with this promise he requested, on April 27, that his five regiments, engaged for the present in the Spanish service, might be properly settled, and expressed himself as the 'more resolved not to be put off with only good words,' because he knew that Condé had recently received supplies from Spain.[1]

Don Juan's answer was delayed until May 12, when he wrote approving the postponement of the English expedition until November, and desiring Charles to empower some person to treat with the Spanish Ministers in the meantime.[2] Charles himself was recommended to remain at Bruges, and, with regard to the troops, Don Juan declared that he could not sanction the formation of a separate army without orders from Spain. He therefore directed Charles to appoint a general to serve under Caracena, engaged to provide quarters for the Royalist troops, and promised to each soldier deserting from France, one pistole, paid on the frontier, arms, and 'good usage.' 1657 May

Hyde was not wholly displeased with this answer which at least implied a recognition of the Spanish obligation to aid the King, but Ormonde was much discouraged and Charles resolved to 'speak firmly' on Don Juan's return 'and do all else that was fit to do.'[3]

The return took place on May 15 and in the interview that followed Don Juan reiterated his promise to do all that was in his power for the troops, and to

[1] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Belling to Nicholas, April 2-12, 1657; De Vic to Nicholas, Newburgh to Nicholas, April 9-19, 1657; *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 164.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 210.

[3] *Ibid.*, liv. fol. 224; *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 297.

procure a supply of money within a few days. 'But in some resolutions it is evident he can do nothing without order from Spain, and then the extreme want they are in on the one hand, and the impossibility of making haste into the field on the other, so discourages them that they scarce know what to do or say,' wrote Hyde.[1]

This was true, and it was also true that the Spaniards were not over-anxious to see the English King's forces increased. On the other hand they now had additional reasons for desiring the presence of the Stuart Princes in their army. The long negotiation between England and France had culminated at last in the offensive and defensive alliance desired by Cromwell. By a treaty signed at Paris, March 23, 1657, Cromwell undertook to blockade the maritime towns of Gravelines and Dunkirk with his fleet, and to send over 6000 English soldiers to aid in the siege by land. It was especially stipulated that these troops were to be English, not Irish or Scottish, and in return for their services France undertook to hand over to Cromwell's keeping the first of the maritime towns that should be captured. In May the English auxiliaries, 'stout men and fit for action,' landed at Calais, 'each with a new red coat, and a new pair of shoes,' and the promise of ninepence a day. They were commanded by Sir John Reynolds and Major-General Thomas Morgan, who had served with Monk in Scotland, and early in June they joined Turenne at the siege of Montmédi, where they were received with 'great expressions of joy.'[2]

In these circumstances Spain made an effort to fit her own English allies for service. Charles's troops were now formed into six regiments of which James, Henry, Ormonde, Rochester, Middleton, and Bristol were the titular colonels. But James was also Captain-General of the forces, Henry was detained by illness in Brussels,

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 258.

[2] Professor Firth, *Royalist and Cromwellian Armies in Flanders*; Chéruel, *France sous Mazarin*, vol. i.; *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 4; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 340; *Thurloe*, vi. p. 345.

Ormonde could not long be spared from the King's side, Rochester's health was failing, and Middleton was absent at Danzig. It was therefore Bristol only who led his men in person, the rest being commanded by their respective lieutenant-colonels, MacCarty, Taafe, Grace, Throgmorton, and Newburgh. A guard of 50 horse, raised for James and put into 'very good equipage' by Spain, was intrusted to Charles Berkeley; the young Duke was granted an allowance of £200 a month during the campaign, and early in June he joined the Spaniards at La Bassée with over 2000 men, described by Ormonde as 'handsome fellows as ever I saw.' Their commander also came in for a share of commendation. 1657 June

'The Duke of York will take exceedingly in the army; he is brave, and as little troublesome as any Prince can be,' averred the Irish Marquis, and events justified the dictum.[1]

James was thus brought into direct contact with his English foes, and though both France and Spain professed 'great confidence' in their allies, France was not in truth really happy concerning them. The wholesale secession of the Irish had made her distrustful, and her distrust was increased by a report that Reynolds's troops had declared loudly that if they failed of good treatment 'they knew whither to go.' The threat was pointed by the immediate desertion of some of the newly-levied men to James, while the Irish continued to join him daily. By July 14, 100 English recruits had come in to the King, and before the end of that month 'a design for Charles Stuart' had been discovered among Reynolds's men. The discovery was made in time to frustrate it, and it soon became evident that the Spaniards' treatment of their auxiliaries was not calculated to draw men to them.[2] Want, quarrels, and general discontent prevailed July

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, vi. pp. 326, 338, 343, 363; *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 58; lv. ff. 55, 80; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 347.

[2] *Thurloe*, vi. pp. 345, 480, 578; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 340; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 326; *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. ff. 27, 35, 121.

among James's regiments, and vainly did he importune the Spanish generals for a proper settlement of his forces and some encouragement to recruits, 'I presse Don Juan every day for something for the English that are come over, but can get nothing yet but promises of moneys for them which shall not want soliciting till I get it,' he reported on September 27. 'In the meantime it would be necessary your Majesty should hasten to send down Tom Blague to have a care of the men.'[1]

Blague was sent, and added his voice to the general complaint, but it had, by that time, been forced upon James's rather slow intelligence that the Spaniards did not intend to facilitate his recruiting.[2] Though the English objected strongly to being joined to an Irish regiment, Don Juan refused to let them form a new regiment of guards for the King, and displayed an obvious jealousy of James's increasing force. Harry Jermyn and Sir John Berkeley proposed to meet this difficulty by raising regiments directly in the service of Spain, but the plan did not commend itself to James any more than did Condé's suggestion that the English and Irish recruits should be joined to his forces.[3] The jealousy of the French Prince was even more to be feared than that of Don Juan, and James had already become involved in a dispute with him, concerning certain Irish soldiers whom Condé claimed as formerly belonging to his army in France. The question was a difficult one, and the Duke, finding himself unable to withstand the demands of the Prince, wrote rather despondently to Charles.

'I have not hitherto given your Majesty an account of the endeavours I have made with M. le Prince about making a settlement concerning the soldiers that have deserted and that we have (of) one another's troops. But, not being able to have made such a one as I could have desired, I send your Majesty the Prince of Condé's

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, i. p. 668. [2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. fol. 115.
[3] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. pp. 297-298; *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 208.

demands, and the *règlement* he will stand to, which, though it may cost us some few men, yett methinks that were better than to come to any *démêlé* with him, since I find by M. l'Aisné, who is the man has had to do in this business, that M. le Prince thinks he has the greatest reason in the world in what he desires and will *opiniâtre* the thing; and at the same time he makes the greatest professions to your Majesty's person and service that can be, and says that both his troops and himself are at your service whenever you shall have need of them for England. He presses much to have a speedy answer to this paper, and so that I have sent this by an express to know your Majesty's pleasure. I had delay'd sending one day, and would have deferred it this day, but that I was pressed to send; but by to-morrow I hope to be able to send you an account of what men we have of his in our several regiments. He desires a speedy answer, and the sooner I receive your Majesty's commands in it, it will be the better.'[1]

Notwithstanding James's urgency, Charles delayed to reply, and on the 16th of August, Bristol wrote to warn him of Condé's impatience, and of his threat to 'take the men where he found them' if they were not surrendered to him.[2]

As James said, anything was better than a quarrel with Condé, and he yielded 'the more readily because his French cousin was the only general of the Spanish forces who commanded his respect.' Military enthusiast as he was, he could not withhold his admiration from M. le Prince who never slept, whose army was ever in good order, who never lost cannon or baggage, and who could foretell the movements of Turenne as accurately as that general could foretell his. Indeed 'they had in the same armies learned that discipline and those stratagems which they afterwards practised against each other in enemy armies; and it was a wonderful and a pleasant thing to see and observe

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, i. p. 668, July 19, 1657.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 288.

in attacks or marches with what foresight either of them would declare what the other would do.'[1]

For Condé, even a soldier trained by Turenne could feel a real admiration, but the contemplation of the Spanish methods filled James with amazement.

Three years before, when Turenne had raised the siege of Arras,[2] he had described to James beforehand exactly what would happen when he assaulted the Spanish lines. First, he said, the Spanish outposts would take his movement for a mere feint, and thus he would be enabled to advance close on the Spanish lines before they bethought them of warning their generals. Fuensaldanha would be sleeping, and a second delay would occur before his servants could be induced to wake him. When this was done, and he had actually witnessed the French advance, he would wake the Archduke and hold counsel with him, by which time the French would have accomplished their purpose, and put the Spanish army to flight.[3]

All had then happened as Turenne predicted, and when James joined the Spaniards in June 1657 he found that his friend had not caricatured them. Though the Archduke had been replaced by Don Juan and Caracena had succeeded Fuensaldanha, things were quite unchanged, and the English Duke drew daily contrasts between the active common-sense of the French and the imbecile formality of the Spaniards.

To his amazement the commander was never to be seen at the head of his troops, save in the moment of battle. He never mounted his horse until half the army was on the march, on arriving at fresh quarters he would go straight to bed where he took his supper, and on non-marching days he never stirred abroad, never inspected his camp, and proved as formal and difficult of access in the field as at Court.

James, who had lived with the active and intelligent

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xv. p. 136.
[2] August 25, 1654.
[3] *Clarendon, History*, xv. pp. 135-136.

officers of France, was irritated beyond measure by the dilatory, negligent methods of Spain, which he found the stranger because Don Juan was personally brave, and, in some respects, not devoid of common sense. But when, in moments of unrestrained indignation, he flew to Condé for advice and sympathy, his hot words were received only with a shrug, and the chilling comment that he would 'see worse errors yet.'[1]

The events of the campaign justified the statement. In June Condé succeeded in relieving Cambrai, where James was joined by Henry, now recovered from his illness, but this was the only success of the year.[2] An attempt to surprise Calais failed in consequence of the tardy arrival of the Prince de Ligny with the cannon; from July 4 to August 10 the army made marches and counter-marches, effecting nothing, and on August 22 the sacredness of Don Juan's siesta prevented the capture of a French convoy.

James, perceiving the opportunity, hastened to entreat the Prince de Ligny to proceed to the scene of action, offering to assume all responsibility himself, but Don Juan slept, and without his orders De Ligny would not move. 1657 August

On August 28 the Spaniards laid siege to Ardres, where James and Condé personally supervised the encampment of their troops, and the formation of their lines according to French custom. When the attack began, James and his brother led on their men in person, but the Spaniards, who had paid no attention to the preparations, retired to their coaches, and observed, with regard to the activity of the English Princes, '*No hazen ben*,' i.e. 'It is not well done.'

This attitude moved Bristol to write to Charles:

'I shall only add one word, which is to desire you to chide the Duke of York for exposing himself to so much danger, it may do well for once to purchase so great applause, but should he doe it a second time, as he did

[1] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. pp. 307, 311-312.
[2] *Thurloe*, i. p. 668.

on this occasion of Ardres, instead of being admired as he is, he would be censured.'[1]

1657 September

But James's efforts could not avail to capture the town. In due course Turenne raised the siege and the Spaniards marched away in great discomfort, seriously hampered by swollen dikes and heavy rains. In the middle of September the army was divided into garrisons for Dunkirk, Mardyck, and Gravelines, and Turenne proceeded to lay siege to Mardyck. Here James again contrived to cause annoyance to his allies. As he was riding near the French lines, reconnoitring according to his custom, his dog, 'a great greyhound,' was recognised by some of his former comrades, who called out to know whether the Duke of York were there. Being answered in the affirmative they advanced, alighted from their horses, and remained talking with James until they were recalled by a message from Turenne. A similar stolen interview had previously taken place at Monbernensen in August, and De Marchin now warned James against its repetition, alleging that the Spaniards were 'a jealous people' who would resent his intimacy with their foes. James protested his loyalty to Spain, but promised no more than to exclude Condé's officers from a share in such escapades in future; and doubtless his irritation at the interference was increased by the knowledge that De Marchin had boasted of an intention to succeed Turenne in his 'good graces.'[2] James was tenacious of his affections, and he was besides aware that Bristol had secured De Marchin's appointment as his lieutenant-general, with the express purpose of undermining his credit and reducing his importance. Yet he was not unjust. 'The man of himself was a very good officer, as any I know,' he confessed.[3] Even towards Bristol he no longer evinced resentment, and on the 16th

[1] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 314; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 353, 359; *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 328.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 53; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 347.

[3] *Memoirs*, i. pp. 297, 298.

of August that erratic colonel was able to report that he had dined with James, and had been treated with all civility. 'For Sir John and I, wee are hand and glove,' he added. 'Indeed, sir, without raillery, I cannot say but hee behaves very decently with me.' And some weeks later all was still 'fair,' James 'gracious,' and the conduct of Berkeley 'generous and handsome,' in spite of the fact that he was possessed with a thousand projects in which there was 'neither head nor foot.'

One of these projects concerned the sending of James to attend the imperial election at Frankfort, but even had it been feasible, the Duke could ill have been spared from the army.[1] At the end of September Turenne took Mardyck, which was thereupon garrisoned with English troops, according to agreement, and though the Spaniards still lingered in the field, attempting to retake it, sickness devastated both armies. Henry was again so ill that he was forced to retire to Breda, Condé suffered so severely from ague that his life was despaired of, and James remained almost the only officer of rank able to perform his duties.[2] The fact added to his reputation, and at the end of the campaign Ormonde saw his prophecy fulfilled. In spite of petty jealousies and other innumerable obstacles, James had gained the confidence of his own men, and the reluctant esteem of Condé and the Spaniards. Beset though he must always be with difficulties and embarrassments, he held an assured position in the army, and was now in Flanders, as he had been in France, an honest soldier and valuable officer, who could never again be regarded as a mere pauper dependent.

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. ff. 288, 299; lvi. fol. 43.
[2] *Memoirs*, i. p. 322.

CHAPTER X

The King's Desire to join the Army—His Endeavours to raise Money —Poverty at Bruges and Brussels—The King's Refusal to stay at Bruges—Adventure of Captain Lendall—Bristol and Don Juan—New Hopes of an Invasion of England—The King at Dunkirk—Adventures in the Army—Negotiation with Don Juan—Bennett at Madrid—Arrest of Sexby—Overtures of Wildman—Royalist Plot in England—Money obtained from the Princess of Orange—Ultimatum of Don Juan—Ormonde sent to England—Adventures in England—Retreat to France —Promises of Spain—Report of Ormonde—Views of Rumbold, Mordaunt, and O'Neil—Preparations for Action—Doubts—Precautions of Cromwell — Trial of Slingsby, Hewitt, and Mordaunt — Collapse of the intended Invasion — Recall of O'Neil and Armorer—Recall of Ormonde.

1657 April

IN Flanders, as in France, Charles saw his younger brother preferred before him, and the contrast between their positions could not fail to render his own the more humiliating. He had hoped at the outset for permission to lead his forces in person, and rumours had even been current that this was the wish of Spain.[1] But when he proposed to accompany Don Juan 'without expecting any ceremony, or putting him to any trouble,' he was answered that he could not be suffered to risk his life so needlessly, especially while his two brothers were in the army and 'known to affect danger.'[2] As this polite rebuff was emphasised by a careful withholding of supplies, Charles was fain to submit for the time, and Hyde thereupon urged him to retire to Bruges, 'with as much sullenness and resentment' as he chose to assume.[3]

[1] *French Papers*, R.O., April 18-28, 1657, Bampfylde to Thurloe.
[2] *Clarendon, History*, xv. p. 132.
[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 119.

The Chancellor was in truth no more anxious than were the Spaniards to see his master take the field, deeming that course inconducive to his safety or dignity. Ever since the beginning of January rumours of plots against the King's life had been in circulation. In April Rumbold had named Cecil, the betrayer of Syndercombe, as one of those employed by Cromwell to effect the assassination of his enemy. In May Charles Darcy sent over a description of Cecil, and of four other persons engaged for the same purpose, and, as escape to the French lines was said to be a part of their programme, Hyde deemed the Spanish army no safe place for their intended victim.[1] But Charles was obstinate, and, in spite of all remonstrance, he lingered on in Brussels, continually importuning Don Juan for leave to join him, and hoping still for the payment of that money which was always so confidently promised to him 'next week.'[2]

1657 May

'We are still here, so wanting money that we cannot move hence,' wrote one of the household in June. 'The King resolves to go to the field, the Spaniard and all oppose it, and lest he should go, they will not pay his pension. They are either angry with his ministers or disesteem our interests. We are still incognito. They take some notice of the Duke of York and his creatures, but for us—the Lord have mercy on us! The Duke of Gloucester is still here. The Marquis of Ormonde is gone post to the army and spending all that can be got in journeys. Not a creature here receives a sou.'[3]

June

The reflection on Ormonde was unjust, for his journey had been undertaken with the sole object of obtaining supplies for the King, and he found the errand not at all to his taste.

'I think they prefer the setting forth of the least ammunition waggon to any present concernment of his, in

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 239; *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 156, April 14-24, 1657; liv. May 1657, Charles Darcy to Cooper.

[2] *Thurloe Papers*, vi. p. 326.

[3] *Flanders Papers*, R.O., June 6-16, 1657, —— to Nicholas.

reference to his personal support,' he reported to Hyde. 'If he have not a very speedy supply I think he must take his horse and tell Don Juan he is plainly run away from seeing his servants beg in the streets, and be haled to prison. . . . What do you imagine I should have to write more than the want of money that makes us mad? . . . By the time that I shall get money to go into the field my twelve horses and mares will be ready for the market to pay for their meat.'[1]

Charles was by this time reduced to such poverty as he had never yet experienced, 'not able to remove from Brussels, where he abhorred to be, nor able to live there,' and, convinced of the futility of soliciting his pension, he sought to raise funds by less direct methods.[2] An attempt to extract aid from the clergy, by confiding to the Papal Nuncio the secret article concerning religion in the treaty with Spain, failed signally.[3] A proposal, emanating from Bristol, for traffic in ecclesiastical benefices proved equally abortive,[4] and Charles next lent an ear to schemes which savoured unduly of bribery. In July an official of the Flemish Treasury, arrested on a charge of peculation, offered him £10,000 to procure his release, and he was only restrained from interference by Hyde's stern dictum that a man who offered so large a bribe evidently deserved to be hanged.[5] Place-hunting was less dangerous, and Egidio Mottet's offer of 50,000 florins in return for the King's good offices in procuring his appointment to the vacant post in the Treasury was embraced without hesitation. But the money was by no means easily earned; Don Juan demanded twice the sum offered, and Ormonde was forced to make many 'jaunts' from Brussels to the army before he could be so much as induced to entertain the proposal. Even when he con-

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 53; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 347, June 21, 1657.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. ff. 53, 59, June 21-23.
[4] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 327, July 15, 1657.
[5] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. ff. 154, 162, July 14-16, 1657.

sented to inquire into Mottet's fitness for the office, he qualified the concession with the proviso that James must receive a portion of whatever sum was paid, and Charles, who had counted confidently on success, was roused to an unusual pitch of indignation.[1]

'You will see by his (Ormonde's) letter, here enclosed, how likely I am to obtaine a summe that will doe me any good, when Don Juan tells him that others must be assisted out of that which I hoped to have had all to myself,' he wrote to Hyde. 'The truth is, this scurvy usuage puts me beyond my patience, and if I were with Don Juan I should follow your counsel and swere two or three round oaths.'

And three days later, he added:

'I am so vext with the delay . . . that I have lost all patience, and give all men that have—or shall have—to do with money to the divell.'[2]

1657 July

Eventually the eloquence of Ormonde and George Lane induced Don Juan to accept 60,000 florins for the place, but he refused to let Charles retain more of that sum than would cover the arrears of his pension. And even so much was not immediately forthcoming, for the Treasurer declared Mottet unfit for the coveted post, and it was not until October that a definite order for his admission to it was wrung from Don Juan by James.[3]

In the meantime poverty pressed hard, and Ormonde excused his long silence to Nicholas with the plea:

'I have little to entertain you with except our ill condition here, which is an argument too familiar with you there.'[4]

June

The remark was only too true, for the correspondence between Brussels and Bruges could but form a duet of complaint and despondency. Nicholas had fallen into his most 'melancolique and shaggrine' state of mind,

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. ff. 39, 53, June 16-21, 1657.
[2] *Ibid.*, lv. ff. 43, 50, June 18-21, 1657.
[3] *Ibid.*, lv. ff. 94, 119, 154, 160, 205, 208; lvi. fol. 159.
[4] *Flanders Papers*, R.O., July 3-13, 1657.

wherein he deemed himself neglected by the King, and was 'jealous of everything and every-body.' Hyde, who had quitted Brussels in May, avowing himself more 'weary' of that place than of any other he had ever been in, now found that he had 'no opinion of the ayr, the water, or the people' of Bruges, and on June 3 he despatched to the King a doleful account of the household.

'It is a very miserable condition that your poor servants are in here,' he wrote. 'Barton is in danger to be arrested, and some others are in such pressing necessities that it grieves me exceedingly to see them.'

He had already pawned his last 'silver pot' in the service of his friends, and he therefore implored Charles to send some small sum of money to Bruges, failing which, 'some must very literally starve, and many others be cast into prison.'[1]

1657 July By some miracle 1000 guilders were procured, and duly distributed by the Chancellor; 40 guilders to the relief of straggling soldiers, 300 to Barton, 200 to two brothers named Batt, 200 to the posthouse, due for letters received, and 100 to Sir James Hamilton, who was not only in distress but seriously ill. The remaining 160 guilders were applied to the relief of various 'poor men,'[2] yet all was but a drop in the ocean of poverty. Nothing was left for 'poor Dick Harding,' who declined to 'importune his master,' though he had already pawned 'every little thing' he possessed, 'the cup that the Princess gave him, and every spoon,' and had not 'a shirt to his back.' And even in acknowledging the money, the Chancellor asked, 'Must the good Secretary and I be left to starve?'[3] The only gleam of relief came through the kindness of the Burgomaster, Mark Ognāte, 'who, being born of an English mother, had all imaginable duty for the King.' Without him existence at Bruges would have become impossible to the exiles, and Hyde expressed

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 264; lv. ff. 4, 59, 119.
[2] *Ibid.*, lv. fol. 164, July 18.
[3] *Ibid.*, lv. fol. 164, July 18, 1657.

an anxious hope for his re-election to office, 'for there passes no day in which we have not need of him.'[1] Even with the friendship of Ognāte troubles were plentiful enough, and the King's prolonged absence was deprecated as 'a primary cause of them.'

'The King being here but two nights and speaking graciously to the Burgomaster would put all in good humours, even though he be not able to pay one penny, or relieve one person,' averred Hyde. . . . 'Upon my word the only sight of him would give us all content, and would allay all ill-humours in this toune, which is that that troubles us most.'[2]

A week later he wrote again to entreat for a further supply of money and to remind the King of various obligations:

'Lord Rochester presses very earnestly to discharge his debts here, for which his man, Rose, is in paune, and which amount to a great sum. And you must not forgett that you owe Lord Culpepper yett for four of your coach horses. There is likewise another debt, for which it will be absolutely necessary that you lay asyde two or three hundred florins, which is the money you have spent out of that which was assigned for the sending of messengers to England.'[3]

These appeals produced no visible effect, and Hyde next addressed himself to Ormonde, whom he desired to despatch Fox immediately to Bruges, and to bring the King thither as soon after as was possible.[4] But it proved a 'hard' matter to get Charles back to Bruges, and Ormonde could only admit sadly the wisdom of his colleague's arguments. 1657 August

'The King going to Bruges is most necessary, and his stay there till he imbarke—if he bee so hapy—is most

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 57, June 22, 1657; *Clarendon, History*, xv. p. 132.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 164.

[3] *Ibid.*, lv. fol. 210, July 27.

[4] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 345, August 6, 1657.

necessary, but I cannot promise that necessity will prevail upon his aversion to the solitariness of the place, or that hee has faith to believe he shall have business sufficient to imploy him. He speakes of hyring another house here, that he is in being uninhabitable in the winter. What to collect thence judge you? You speake ignorantly when you talke of the pleasures of any place that has not visitable company in it to take up every afternoon of the yeare.'[1]

A little later Ognāte was requested to look out for a house at Ghent, which Charles had conceived to be healthier than Bruges, but the question of his winter residence remained unsettled, and this uncertainty added to the already numerous troubles of the 'family.'

'It were a happy thing for the King's servants if he could foresee where to fix himself next winter, that every one might provide for his settlement,' observed Lane.[2]

1657 July Some of Charles's more adventurous servants had by that time bethought them of providing for their wants in a rather high-handed manner, and on July 16 Hyde issued a commission to Captain Lendall, 'who,' he wrote, 'will venture in a little shallop with 40 good fellows . . . to the other side of the ditch and will fetch a curmudgeon out of his house, and borrow such goods as they can bring away. I do not know any objection against it on the King's part.'[3]

No objection being offered, Lendall made his venture on the night of July 17, landed on the Isle of Thanet, and marched two miles inland to the house of a merchant, Henry Crispe. Though warned of the intended raid some ten days previously, the old man had conceived it 'too mad' for possibility, and was found peacefully asleep in bed, whence he was conveyed in his own coach to the waiting boat, and so to Lendall's house at Dunkirk.

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 6, August 8, 1657 (misdated 1654).

[2] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., July 29-August 8, 1657, Lane to Nicholas; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 362.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 162, July 16, 1657.

His son, Nicholas, was spared at the passionate entreaty of his wife, on a promise to pay £1000 as his father's ransom.[1]

This exploit was acclaimed by the exiles as 'a good jest,' Ormonde alone appearing to entertain doubts of its legitimacy; but the Governor of Dunkirk claimed Lendall's prize as a prisoner of Spain, and was only prevented from negotiating his exchange with the English Government by Don Juan's timely order for his detention in the interest of the English King.[2] The Protector's intervention was thus rendered futile, but an order in council forbade the younger Crispe to ransom his father, lest encouragement should be thereby afforded to similar ventures.[3] Disappointment moved Lendall to indict 'a foolish and insolent' letter, in which he reproached the son for falsehood and unfilial conduct, and threatened the death of the captive if the money were not speedily paid. But he continued to treat his prisoner with kindness and courtesy, and the old man took the whole affair in surprisingly good part, made himself 'very merry' with his captors, and declined to attempt an escape when offered the opportunity by certain malcontents among Lendall's comrades.[4] In November 1657 his son died, and the widow, Lady Thomasine Crispe, obtained leave to ransom her father-in-law for £3000, in consideration of her forlorn condition.[5] But the money was not actually paid until the following March, when there arose such violent disputes concerning its distribution as called for the arbitration of King and Chancellor.

1657 August

September

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 241, August 1, 1657.

[2] *Ibid.*, lv. ff. 254, 328; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 345, 356, 358; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., September 10-20, 1657; *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, clvi. fol. 52, August 27, 1657.

[3] *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, clvi. fol. 96, September 22, 1567; *Thurloe*, vi. p. 434.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 241; lvi. ff. 39, 50, September 13, 17, 1657; *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, clvi. ff. 77, 78, 81, September 10-20, 1657.

[5] *Domestic State Papers*, November 24, 1657, Petition of Thomasine Crispe, January 5, 1657, Pass for William Reeve.

James's claim for a share as Admiral was rejected on the plea of the King's special grant to the adventurers, and Lendall finally triumphed over all through the prowess of his wife, who, reported one of the disputants, 'skoulded us all out a dores.'[1]

1657 August

Charles himself benefited nothing by the enterprise, and his difficulties grew and multiplied daily. At the end of August his persistence had wrung from Don Juan a reluctant consent to his joining the army, qualified with the comment that 'he was not in a condition to receive him as he ought,' and that a residence in Bruges would be 'more conducible' to English affairs. 'But,' concluded Bristol, by whom the message was conveyed, 'since you, who are the best judge of the matter, are of another opinion, and that you have the goodness to dispense with what is due to you, God forbid hee should bee against what your inclinations led you so strongly unto.' Although the reasons alleged for it, he said, appeared to him somewhat metaphysical.

Hyde declared that on receipt of this grudging permission the King would 'yett go, with four men and a clothesbag,'[2] but for the moment even so modest an equipage was beyond his means, and when the Chancellor returned to Brussels in September he found the royal finances in a parlous condition.

September

'I am sufficiently weary of this place,' he wrote to Nicholas, 'having looked over the state of the debts and finding that every bit of meat, every drop of drink, all the fyre and all the candles that have been spent since the King coming hither is entirely owed for, and how to get credit for a week more is no easy matter. I would I were at Breda.'[3]

Fox proposed to meet the emergency by reducing the

[1] *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, May 17-27, 1658, Jane to Nicholas; *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. fol. 240; lviii. fol. 316; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 345; *Thurloe Papers*, vi. p. 870.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. ff. 321, 328, August 29, 30, 1657.

[3] *Thurloe*, vi. p. 434; *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvi. fol. 147; *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. fol. 15, September 15, 1657.

King's meals to 'one dish,' but to obtain even this Hyde and Ormonde were obliged to pledge their already much pledged credit. The wonder is that they retained any credit at all, since neither possessed a penny, and Ormonde's pension was as much in arrears as was the King's.[1]

Hopes of relief centred, as usual, on Bristol's influence with Don Juan; but though, by his own account, he pleaded with as much 'patheticalness' as if the saving of his soul had been involved, he gained only vague promises which remained of course unfulfilled.

'Don Juan's answer was that I had not a greater sense of his Majesty's necessities than hee, but that no man could be required to doe impossibilities,' he reported; 'that noebody saw clearer than I the miserable state wherein himself and his affairs were, for want of money, and that he had done all that was possible for him at present, which was to get together, with all diligence, the sum of 8000 florins, upon which all the King's, Duke of York's, and Lord of Ormonde's arrears should be paid without delay.' It was added that the King must not measure Don Juan's affection 'by what he could do towards his case in this kind, but by what he did, and should do, towards the mayne in his affairs.'[2]

In short, Bristol was still possessed with the idea of pressing on the English invasion, and Don Juan was willing to counterbalance his inability to give present help with large promises for the future. These now took the form of 100,000 crowns for the expedition, with 50,000 crowns over and above, for the personal equipment of the King and his brothers. When all else was ready the 'means,' he protested, should not be lacking, and he desired a new conference between Caracena and the King's ministers, only entreating that

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. ff. 43, 66, September 14-24, 1657; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 362.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. fol. 4, September 2, 5, 1656; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 342, 353.

'since it was an effort to be made but once,' Charles would forbear from engaging Spain 'upon any ill-grounded correspondency.' On this encouragement Bristol adjured Charles and one of his ministers to hasten at once to the army, but furnished no funds for the journey, and characteristically coupled his adjuration with the assurance that 'the perpetuall allarums that Don Juan is in for the maine stake allows him scarce to heed anything is said to him concerning private business.'[1]

1657 October

This light-hearted inconsistency roused even the long-suffering Ormonde to indignation, and he wrote of it to the Chancellor with unwonted irritability.

'If I did not know that you love letters better than venison, or than I my ease, I could not be persuaded, as I am by Dick Belling, to write at this time of the night, with a pen that would make you swear at every period. . . . Read my Lord of Bristol's (letter) to you, and if you can sleep with that ingredient added to your medecine you will not need to be prescribed to hear sermons. Something I shall write in answer, or rather in acknowledgment of the receipt of his, for it must be discourse, and that at a time when men have their understandings about them, that must bring us to know what is really intended. In the meantime I grow choleric at his proposing a meeting, when hee not only says that wee cannot bee heard, but when hee ought to know that it is as impossible for the King to get thither, or for any from him, as you pretended it was for you this day to walk afoot to Breda. Well, God send me well out of my warlike equipage, though it be into a gaol.'[2]

But Hyde, who had despaired in May of help from Spain, though not of help from Heaven, was so far impressed by Bristol's representations as to believe that Spain might be, after all, the chosen instrument of Pro-

October

vidence. This impression was confirmed in October by

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. ff. 41, 46, 48, 62, September 13, 17, 21, 1657.
[2] *Ibid.*, lvi. fol. 64, September 22, 1657.

the report of a conference held between Bristol, James, De Marchin, and Caracena, in which it was agreed that all should be ready for the expedition within fifteen days of the receipt of money from Spain; and on October 11 Bristol actually forwarded to Hyde orders for the payment of the last six months' pension, with renewed entreaties to bring the King at once to Dunkirk; and the assurance that 'there never was such a time for representing reason home unto those heere, as now that they see us so necessary to their affairs, and how pernicious unto them old Blinkeses (*i.e.* Don Alonso's) councils have bin.'[1]

By this time certain assurances given to Charles by Don Alonso had convinced even Ormonde of the necessity of seeking the army, and Hyde replied joyfully that the King would set out at once with as many as were in a condition to follow him, leaving Fox behind, to settle the debts.[2] But to the chagrin of all the Pagador at Antwerp declined to honour the orders, and complaint to Bristol brought only the irate response: 'You make me mad by saying the Pagador will not pay till further orders, when Don Juan has sent the preciselyest he can.'

Ultimately 16,000 florins were received, out of which Hyde found himself expected to pay 17,000 for the King's debts at Brussels alone, besides financing the journey to Dunkirk, and relieving '1000 indigent, miserable people,' who had all good claim to succour.[3] The rest of the money was not received until December, and in the middle of October Charles followed the Chancellor to Bruges 'in the old condition of want, and with little hope of amendment.'[4] A letter from James, describing the English battleships lying before Dunkirk, had, however, stimulated his already

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 278; lvi. ff. 50, 115, 125, 138; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 342; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 296, 362.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. ff. 71, 143, September 27, October 12, 1657.

[3] *Ibid.*, lvi. ff. 152, 154, 159, October 15, 17, 1657.

[4] *Cal. Domestic State Papers*, October 1657.

ardent desire to be upon the scene of action, and before the end of the month he contrived to convey himself and Ormonde thither. They discovered, on arrival, that the proximity of the army had made the place 'damnably deere,' but the sum of 2500 guilders, raised on the credit of the Abbess of Ghent, sufficed to maintain them for several weeks, and the King, reported Ormonde, showed 'no disposition to return, so long as any man would stay.'[1]

His presence seemed at first to be well justified, for the English commander, Reynolds, became thereby fired with a desire to imitate the courtesies of the French officers, and inquired, through Lord Newburgh, whether James would speak with him. He was answered in the affirmative, and thenceforth the King and his brother walked constantly on the shore, as near to the fort of Mardyck as might safely be, but no meeting with the English commander occurred until Newburgh and George Hamilton advanced one day boldly into his quarters and informed him that the Duke of York was on the sand-hills. Reynolds at once came forth to meet him; protested, with some vehemence, that he served France rather than Cromwell, and seemed as though he would have said more, but for the proximity of some officers who accompanied him. As it was he dropped vague hints of serving the King when occasion offered, and parted from the Duke with every mark of respect and courtesy. Subsequently he sent presents of wine to both Charles and James, and forbade the English ships to fire on them when they walked upon the sands.[2]

But in the following December he was drowned, as he crossed over to England to make a report to Cromwell, or, as some said, to justify conduct which appeared, at the least, 'more light-headed than was requisite for a man in such a charge,' and with him perished Charles's

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. fol. 162; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 401.
[2] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. pp. 326-327; *Thurloe Papers*, vi. pp. 687-731.

hopes of obtaining the surrender of Mardyck.[1] Equally abortive proved the Spanish attempts to retake it, attempts in which Charles was not without his share. On $\frac{\text{October 22}}{\text{November 1}}$ he was present at a night attack on the newly repaired fortifications, wherein he and his companions exposed themselves so freely to fire that Ormonde's horse was shot under him as he rode at the King's side.[2] The works were successfully slighted, and the party returned in safety; but on a later occasion Charles was again in imminent danger while watching a fight between the English frigates and some Spanish shallops. The risks which he thus ran daily became 'all the talke of the toune' at Bruges, and caused considerable inconvenience to the 'family' there resident.

'It takes away our credit, and the people call now impatiently for their money,' complained Hyde.

This was the more unfortunate because the place was full of straggling soldiers, all in the last degree of want.

'I find by the sadd spectacle I see here every day of naked soldiers that it will be necessary you think of some expedient for the clothing of your men,' wrote the Chancellor to Charles in November, and he added in rebuke of his reported recklessness: 'I am not one of those who thinke you are like to recover your kingdom without being in danger of your life, but let it be when the adventure is of use, and there is a recompense in view.'[3]

It is quite probable that Charles valued his life but little at the time. In the previous July he had written to Bennett, 'If this winter pass without any attempt on my part I shall take very little pleasure in living till the next.'[4] And now that the winter was rapidly approaching there seemed small chance that the attempt

[1] *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, clviii. ff. 27, 31; *Thurloe Papers*, vi. pp. 665, 687.

[2] *Mercurius Politicus*, October 24, 1657; *Thurloe*, vi. p. 578.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. ff. 190, 192, November 5, 6, 1657; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 374.

[4] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 351, July 1657.

would be made. On his arrival at Dunkirk Charles had conferred on the subject with Don Juan, but all details were, as before, referred to Caracena and the King's ministers, whereupon Bristol and Ormonde despatched a jocular summons to the Chancellor.

'Not that we think you necessary for the great business in hand, but that we find it more convenient to talke with you heere, than to be obliged to write long letters, we have persuaded his Majesty that it is necessary to command you hither,' they explained.[1]

Hyde received this communication as a jest, and when a second letter from Bristol convinced him of its seriousness, gout held him a prisoner at Bruges.[2] His colleagues were obliged, after all, to be content with long letters of advice, wherein they were particularly adjured to obtain the freedom of the ports, since it was essential to draw over at least 300 English sailors before the King embarked. But the Spaniards withheld this concession until the invasion should be actually begun, and an attempt to buy ships in Holland met with no success. Don Juan promised assistance in the matter, but left his promise, as usual, unfulfilled, and excused all omissions to James on the ground that many things promised by Charles remained unperformed.[3]

1657 November

Bennett was able to send no encouragement from Spain, where he continued to pursue his negotiations in a regular circle, receiving always promises of assistance and assurances of goodwill, but finding always that his business was shifted from one minister to another, that each grew cold when pressed for anything definite, and that all finally referred him back to Don Juan. 'A more sleepie and more niggardly council was never seen,' he declared in his exasperation, and all the comfort offered him was an assurance that 'if the whole

July. November

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. ff. 162, 165, October 23, 24, 1657.

[2] *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvi. fol. 154.

[3] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 379, 381; *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 208; lvi. ff. 224, 348.

monarchy were at stake they would not double their pace.' Yet he retained belief in their good intentions, and a promise of money to be paid in the middle of September induced him to write soothingly to the King.

'If it be not now to the full extent of what it becomes them to give and you to receive, your Majesty cannot justly impute it to want of goodwill. The truth is there has been such a general failing in all their affairs, as is not to be easily believed by anybody that is not at the fountain of them. . . . As to that point of not owning your Majesty otherwise than incognito in their country they easily answer that the same money it would cost to do, so as not to shame them, would have done your business, which, if they had had sooner they would sooner have given to you. . . . From hence your Majesty cannot do better than laying all that is past behind you, and betaking yourself to improve the future, so as you may stand upon your legs.'

In pursuance of this counsel Bennett added the adjuration: 'Bee sure you be ready in England when the Ministers are so in Flanders.' But the non-payment of the promised money somewhat shook his confidence, and by November he had begun to doubt not only the power but the sincerity of Spain.

'The contest being betwixt them and our friends who shall begin first, I fear we shall fall to the ground between two stooles,' he lamented.[1]

1657 May-November

This prophecy seemed only too likely of fulfilment. Throughout the year the Royalists at home had kept up a diligent correspondence with the King, so diligent indeed that Ormonde's mind misgave him lest there might be 'a trade driven by young men to live upon a pretence of doing the King service.'[2] But the messengers who crossed and recrossed with such frequency brought little beyond assurances of the whole country's

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. ff. 132, 166, 194, 245, 270, 302, 304; lvi. ff. 36, 123, 198, 275; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 347, 355.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 94, July 2, 1657.

eager desire for deliverance from Cromwell, and of the probability of some 'good accident' soon to occur.

The hopes of this accident were stimulated in May by the publication of 'Killing no Murder,' that 'witty epistle,' which proved to the satisfaction of the exiles at least 'the lawfulness and conveniency' of slaying the Protector, as 'a usurper and tyrant' entitled to 'no more law than a wolf or a fox.'[1] The effect of this pamphlet was, however, somewhat counteracted in July by the arrest of Hopton and Sexby, on whose promises to assassinate Cromwell Royalists and Levellers had long relied. Sexby had gone to England early in April, vowing to accomplish his purpose at all risks; but after the lapse of four months he found himself no nearer the performance of his vow than he had been on his arrival, and he was on the point of re-embarking for Flanders when he was arrested on July 24, 'in a mean habit, disguised like a countryman, and his visage altered by an overgrown beard.'[2] He was thereupon induced to confess so much to his captors that his quondam friend, Titus, expressed satisfaction on a rumour that he had gone 'stark mad,' and a hope that he might 'never recover his wits,' if he did not first recover his 'honesty.'

Wildman's offer to take Sexby's place in the assassination scheme was declined because he stipulated for a reward in advance,[3] but his 'honesty' was not questioned, and on his request for the King's promise to govern by 'the ancient laws of the Kingdom,' Hyde draughted various proclamations to that effect, offering pardon and reward to all soldiers and officers who should declare for the King, and referring the settlement of all disputed questions to a free Parliament.[4] The Presbyterians had

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 278; lv. fol. 4; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 333; *Thurloe Papers*, vi. p. 326.

[2] *Clarke Papers*, iii. p. 114; *Thurloe Papers*, vi. pp. 33, 182; *Mercurius Politicus*, July 24, 1657, O.S.

[3] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 378; *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. fol. 250, November 27, 1657.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. ff. 265, 269, 369, 370.

already declared themselves satisfied with a message conveyed by Titus, and, for a time, the ever-recurrent hope of Lambert's adhesion was revived, but all that could be confidently counted upon was the orthodox Royalist plot, the same, in all essentials, as that of the previous year. Designed by the Sealed Knot, engineered by such men as John Mordaunt, Hartgill Baron, and Dr. Hewitt, and managed by agents appointed to every county, this plot involved the enlistment of troops all over the country, with schemes for the seizure of the city of London, and other important towns, such as Hull, Shrewsbury, Bristol, and Gloucester. Preparations were most forward in the west, for which Popham and Trelawney were chiefly responsible, and in Sussex and Surrey where John Mordaunt, Humphrey Bennett, George Gunter, and John Stapley, son of the regicide, Anthony Stapley, made themselves very active. Bellasys and Byron professed themselves 'wonderfully ready' in the North, and Sir Henry Slingsby, then a prisoner at Hull, hoped to prevail with his gaolers to surrender that port to the King. The Earl of Oxford was to command-in-chief; the adhesion of Skippon and Waller was definitely promised; and that of Fairfax and Lambert was regarded as hopeful.[1]

But all these undertakings remained conditional on the King's landing with men, arms, ammunition, palisades for entrenchment, engineers, and 'a nimble traine of artillery,' and without this the Royalists at home refused to move. 'They seem so heartbroken as they look only for redress from some extraordinary act of Providence, rather than from any endeavours of their own,' lamented Hyde, and he even expressed a fear that the King might suffer defeat on landing, 'while men sit still and looke for the effect of the first battle.'[2]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. ff. 72, 90, 210, 241; lvi. ff. 146, 254, 348, 351; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 312, 333, 337, 343, 356, 407-409; *Thurloe Papers*, vii. pp. 13, 46, 47, 65-68, 74, 77-80, 85, 88, 121, 123.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. ff. 38, 351, September 12-December 28, 1657.

1657 November

Men Charles had, but money and ships he lacked, and in November an attempt was made to revive the old intrigue with the Duke of Lorraine, who offered to finance an Irish rising, on condition of the King obtaining his liberty from Spain. Bennett thought that the condition would not prove difficult of performance, but Hyde avowed openly that 'of all men living' he desired least to deal with Lorraine, and in deference to his opinion, the matter was waived.[1]

Instead, Charles combined with his sister and two brothers to borrow money from John Webster, a merchant of Amsterdam, on the understanding that the loan was to be repaid by whichever of the four eventually succeeded to the English throne,[2] and this proving insufficient, he was forced to make a reluctant appeal to the Princess.

'I write now to you upon a business which I think I never writ to you upon before in my life. I never was more unwilling to do it than now,' he stated. 'It is of money, of which I believe you are not much better provided than myself; yet I cannot but tell you that I am like, within a few days, to have a good occasion offered me, upon which, if I can lay hold, I may lay a foundation to compass all my business. . . . I know you are without money, and cannot very easily borrow it, at least upon so little warning, but if you will send me any jewel that I may pawn for £1500 sterling, I do promise you you shall have the jewel again in your hands before Christmas, and I shall be able to make a journey that I think will do my business.'[3]

December

Despite her poverty and her wounded feelings, Mary complied with the request, and Charles, who had by that time returned to Bruges, at once sent Ormonde to explain matters to Don Juan, and obtain in return a definite statement of what Spain was ready to do. Though admitted to an interview on December 26,

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. ff. 198, 217, 348, 353, November 14, 21, December 27, 28, 1657.

[2] *Thurloe Papers*, vi. p. 600, November 7, 1657.

[3] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 378.

Charles's emissary received, at first, the usual vague replies, and delays ensued which 'almost broke' Hyde's heart, and put the King into 'such a passion' that he refused to show Bristol's letter on the subject to the Chancellor. Finally, on December 31, Don Juan delivered his ultimatum, to the effect that before he moved in the matter Ormonde must personally investigate the preparations in England; in the event of Ormonde's report being favourable, he promised that all should be ready for the expedition by the end of February 1658.[1]

The danger of the proposed adventure, great enough for the Irish Marquis in any case, was enhanced at this juncture by the alarm which the new plot had excited in the English Government. Full and ample information concerning it had been received from agents both at home and abroad, in particular from Willys, from a certain Corker, once scout-master to Langdale and now in the confidence of Dr. Hewitt, and from Lockhart, the English Ambassador in France, to whom Mazarin communicated all that he could learn of the preparations in Flanders. Precautions followed naturally. In December the guards in London were doubled, and 'the great ones' sat up one whole night despatching letters of warning and exhortation to the various counties. In January the garrisons were strengthened at Hereford, Oxford, Gloucester, and Exeter, 30 fresh troops were marched into London, the coasts were carefully watched, and the intended invasion was discussed in detail. Several 'gentlemen' were seized at the tennis courts of St. James's and detained on suspicion, other arrests followed, and on January 21 Titus expressed a fear that 'Cromwell clapping up so many at present may abate for a time the courage of our friends.'[2]

1658 January

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. ff. 348, 361; lvii. fol. 4, December 27, 31, 1657.

[2] *Ibid.*, lvi. fol. 246; lvii. ff. 44, 46, 61, June 6, July 8, 1659; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 386, 397; *Thurloe Papers*, i. pp. 707-719; vi. pp. 579, 599, 642, 716; vii. pp. 77-78.

1658 January 23 But Ormonde's courage did not fail, and on January 23 he set out for Antwerp with O'Neil and his servant Maurice, intimating that he was about to attend the Imperial Diet at Frankfort on behalf of the Kings of England and Spain.[1] This statement gained general credence, and the three companions were enabled to embark unobserved for England, where they landed, on January 30, at West March, near Colchester.

Finding no bed fit to sleep in, they sat up all that night at an inn, playing at shuffleboard, and drinking with four Suffolk brewers, and proceeded on the next day to Chelmsford, where, for prudence' sake, they parted February company.[2] With his portmanteau strapped behind him, 'a green case over his hat, and a night-cap on his head,' Ormonde rode on to London, and established himself February 3rd in Drury Lane, at the house of a Roman Catholic surgeon, to whom he was introduced by Sir Philip Honeywood. It was arranged that he should pass for a cashiered officer, under the name of Pickering, and for purposes of disguise he was provided with a 'peruke,' but this 'troubled' him so much that Colonel 'Will' Legge supplied him, instead, with a hair dye, which, unfortunately, turned his hair 'a variety of colours.' In this ridiculous plight he was presented to eight leading Royalists as 'a gentleman going to the King,' but nervousness held all tongue-tied until he disclosed his real identity. Then they waxed communicative and boastful, but, being pressed on matters of detail, lapsed again into incoherence. Interviews with 'Will' Legge, Colonel 'Jack' Russell, Edward Villiers, and Richard Willys proved equally unsatisfactory. Popham's promises for the west and Stapley's preparations in Sussex were freely discussed, with the various plans for the seizure of Hull, Windsor, Shrewsbury, Gloucester, and Bristol, and Willys was especially lavish of assurances and protestations, but all was to little purpose. Each scheme was

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. fol. 43, January 21, 1658.
[2] *Ibid.*, lvii. fol. 48; Carte's *Ormonde*, iii. p. 665.

isolated from the other, each plotter distrusted his neighbour, and none would meet or confer with another. It was feared that Popham would be 'no beginner separate from his Presbyter party,' and how to approach the Presbyterians Ormonde did not know. Finally, he concluded that nothing was to be expected from friends at home until the King was actually on English soil, when the general hatred of Cromwell would bring all parties to the royal standard. This view was confirmed by the confusion consequent on the Protector's dissolution of his Parliament before it had granted him adequate supplies, and on February 5 Ormonde wrote to Hyde:

'I stay only to know what may be done with Colonel Popham, and to see what the breaking of the Parliament may produce quickly; and both these failing, I put myself under God's conduct to get to you.'[1]

Two days later it had become evident that he could not stay 'one day longer' with safety to himself or his business. Willys had already betrayed his presence to Cromwell, warning him at the same time of an intended search of his lodgings, and on the very night that he removed to the house of a French tailor in Black Friars the search was made. From Black Friars he passed to Fish Street, but the vigilance of the Government hunted him from refuge to refuge until constant peril deprived him of sleep at night, and decided him to await developments on the other side of the Channel. On February 7 he sent Maurice to announce this intention at Bruges, bade the English Royalists keep quiet until the King arrived at the beginning of the next month, and, leaving with them his address at Paris, departed on February 8 for Shoreham. There, by the help of the King's newly-appointed physician, Dr. Quatermain, 'a sober, modest, and discreet man,' he succeeded in getting a boat for France, and the two crossed together to Dieppe, where,

[1] Carte's *Ormonde*, iii. pp. 661-664; *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. ff. 71, 109, 134.

somewhat to their dismay, they encountered Dr. Fraser. Though not certain that he had been recognised, Ormonde was 'far from being sure of the contrary,' and it was with grave misgivings that he journeyed to Paris, which was, in truth, almost as dangerous a residence for him as London.[1]

For several weeks subsequent to his departure his fate remained wrapped in mystery, and much anxiety was suffered on his behalf both in London and Bruges.

'I can never forgive him the payne I have been in for his safety,' declared O'Neil.

And wrote Hyde:

'We are in the clowdes till you come, and since it is now neere three weeks since you left London, we shall be in very great pain till we see you or heare from you.'[2] This pain was not diminished by the fact that the action of Spain depended entirely upon Ormonde's report, though Don Juan professed himself 'full of the business,' and promised to have all ready by the 15th of March.

'The truth is I never saw those ministers so cheerful as they are at present, and Don Alonso told me that they would perform more than they had promised. But all depends upon you,' averred Hyde.[3]

1658 March

It was not until the 1st of March, the very day fixed by the King for his embarkation, that Ormonde was able to despatch his eagerly-expected report from Paris. 'I came here last night,' he wrote, 'after a dangerous passage in regard both of salt and fresh waters, and so tyred that I can hardly compose myself for a despatch, yet my stay in France—and what is of more importance—depending on it, I must make the best shift I can. During my stay at London I writ two letters to you, one by the post, under the Lady Abbess' cover, the other by

[1] *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 120; Carte's *Ormonde*, iii. pp. 664-667; *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. ff. 76, 129, 201; *Thurloe Papers*, vi. p. 806.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. ff. 128, 271, February, March 24, 1658.

[3] *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 120; *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. ff. 84, 86, 97, 123, 124, February 8, 13, 20, 28, 1658.

Maurice. I hope they are both long since in your hands. If they bee, you will have found that, in my judgment, there was not any shuch probable meanes proposed for the effecting of any one designe as to the taking of any place that could justifie my engaging so many persons as were willing to rise with what force they could make, which, without some place to receive and cover them, had bin to expose them to inevitable ruine, and the King's counsells to irreparable and shameful derision. Nor was it possible for me or my business to stay the new modelling of designs for the taking of places, but that my being in England would be knowen, and thereupon persons suspected. . . . And now, though this may seem, and indeed is, sad as to particulars, and what we thought had been more solidly projected, yet, if I have any judgment, it leads me to be confident that if the King can land but with the force and provisions promised at or nigh Yarmouth, he will carry it before it can be succoured, especially if it be before Cromwell shall have composed the disorder occasioned by breaking the Parliament, and by that gaine reputation enough to do his own business.' In short, the preparations in England were as complete as they ever would or could be, and Ormonde advised the King to land as soon as possible on the east coast, while he himself created a diversion in the west. Yet he confessed that this valiant counsel was, after all, born of despair. 'The opinion I have given was not without consideration in what state the King must be, for ought I know, if nothing be attempted, and that under pretence of want of affection for him in England.'[1]

All these statements were confirmed by letters from Rumbold, Mordaunt, and O'Neil, who declared Monk discontented, the armies in England and Scotland unpaid and mutinous, and Cromwell 'in a tottering condition.' On the adhesion of Waller and Rossetter they were ready to pledge their honour, and 'a very

[1] *Carte MSS.*, ccxiii. ff. 93-95, 97; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 118-119, 121-124; *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. ff. 134, 153, 201, March 1, 8, 9, 15, 1658.

vigorous assistance from all kinds of people,' was confidently promised at the King's landing.[1]

In short the general consensus of opinion was in favour of action; Charles announced his intention of going to England, Bennett reported that great efforts were being made at Madrid to equip an Armada, and that the Court had lately recommended the English King's cause before its own in all despatches to Flanders, and Don Juan, impressed by the fact that Ormonde did not return, promised to prepare the expedition at Ostend.[2]

Messengers were forthwith despatched to England bearing news of the Spanish promises, and assurances of the King's speedy arrival with men, horses, arms, and money, and on March 10 Charles went to Brussels to make the final arrangements.[3] After a day spent in consultation with Don Juan, Don Alonso, Caracena, and De Marchin, he appeared 'extraordinarily cheerful,' and De Marchin who now 'professed himself to all the world an Englishman,' gave out that the expedition would start before the end of the month.

'And the King himself was willing to have us believe it,' reported Sir Gilbert Talbot. '. . . I have heard the King and the Lord Chancellor say that they are fully satisfied that now the Spaniards intend business seriously, and I am of that opinion, but with this reserve, that I think that unless they have some encouragement, such as a rising in England, or the declaration of the Hollanders in our favour, they will seem to prepare for us, but make the whole preparation serve for their own defence.'[4]

Sir Edward Walker was even more sceptical.

'When I consider the time of year, no preparation

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. ff. 109, 132, 148, 160, 164, 178, 206, February 26, March 10, 14, 1658.

[2] *Ibid.*, lvii. pp. 206, 262, 275, March 10, 25, April 3, 1658; *Carte, MSS.*, xxx. fol. 456.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, vi. pp. 822, 834, 835; vii. p. 48; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 124-128.

[4] *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 132-135; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., March 5-15, 12-22, 1658, Gilbert Talbot to Nicholas.

visible on our part, and too much on Cromwell's, I cannot believe we shall attempt anything this spring,' he declared. 'And if we are to tide out another year here the Lord have mercy on us!'[1] And even the sanguine Norwich observed that he could not with his 'best spectacles' discover 'any probable ground' for crossing the Channel that spring, and concluded that the hope of restoration 'must be such a hope as St. Paul mentions we must be saved by—a hope that is not soon, and with patience waited for.'[2]

The judgment of the pessimists proved only too accurate, for in the interval between Ormonde's departure from England, and the receipt of his report at Bruges, Cromwell had taken effective measures to secure his own safety. An English fleet sent to ply before Ostend successfully blocked that harbour, and quashed any intentions that the Spaniards might have had of sailing from thence.[3] Other frigates guarded the English coasts, and all Cavaliers and Roman Catholics were again banished from London, and confined within a five mile radius of their homes.

Many arrests followed, and Henry Cromwell, who had publicly and vehemently disapproved of former repressive measures, expressed a hope that God would keep the Government 'from doing anything as to the securing of the Cavaliers or raising of moneys illegally.' But the Protector and Thurloe judged it 'very unreasonable' that they should be 'alarmed once every year with invasions and insurrections,' and were resolved to make examples of the leading Royalists and detain the rest in custody.[4] A High Court of justice was accordingly erected by which Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewitt were condemned to death, on sufficient evidence. Mordaunt

[1] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., March 11-21, 1658, Edward Walker to Nicholas.
[2] *Ibid.*, March 15-25, 1658, Norwich to Nicholas.
[3] *Thurloe Papers*, vi. p. 870; vii. p. 38.
[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. ff. 109, 176, 187, 217, 260; *Thurloe Papers*, vi. p. 20; vii. pp. 55, 99; *Clarke Papers*, iii. pp. 145, 147.

rejected the jurisdiction of the Court and refused to plead, until a note from his wife was thrust into his hand bearing the entreaty, 'For God's sake plead! Plead for my sake, and stand disputing it no longer!' He then pleaded 'not guilty,' and though Stapley turned traitor his evidence proved too confused to carry conviction, and Mordaunt was acquitted by the casting vote of the president. He was, however, detained for several months in the Tower, and both Slingsby and Hewitt were executed on June 8, 1658.[1]

In consequence of these calamities the proposed expedition from Flanders suffered complete collapse, and recriminations between Charles and Don Juan ensued. The King blamed the dilatoriness of Spain, the Spaniard complained that the King's council was 'not faithful,' and Bristol, whose favour with Don Juan was on the wane, found himself unable to restore peace; matters were not improved by a quarrel between Don Juan and Caracena which obstructed all business, and it was finally agreed to postpone the English invasion to the following September.[2]

In pursuance of this resolution O'Neil was instructed to lay fresh plans in England, but his answer was not encouraging. The recent disappointment had proved, in all respects, disastrous; 'searches' were 'troublesome,' meetings difficult and dangerous, and the Cavaliers were equally angry with the King for his non-appearance, and with Ormonde for his premature visit, to which was attributed the renewed alarm of the Government.

'You cannot imagine the change yt your failure to come, and the imprisonment of some of your friends hath wrought within these ten days,' declared O'Neil. For his own part, he complained bitterly of the insufficiency

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xv. pp. 93-101; *Thurloe Papers*, vii. pp. 25, 48, 102, 144; *Cal. Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, clxxxi. fol. 100.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. ff. 227, 255-257; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., March 3-13, 7-17, 1657, Talbot and Norwich to Nicholas; *French Papers*, R. O., March 31-April 9, 1658, Lockhart to Thurloe; *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 330.

of his commission, and of the general lack of secrecy. 'Here is Pyles! He knows as much as you or me! I meet him often! I confess it terrifies me to know soe senceless a creature should know all he knows.' Yet he signified his intention of remaining at his post by demanding that Maurice should be sent over with his 'stuff suit' and a more extensive commission, and strove to keep up the spirits of his party with protestations that the King might still come with ships and men, notwithstanding the English fleet at Ostend.[1]

Ormonde, however, recommended the recall of all emissaries who could not 'walk in the light,' and a peremptory summons to Bruges was therefore despatched to O'Neil and Armorer on April 4, and to Ormonde himself Hyde wrote with vehemence.

'I may tell you now that it is necessary you make all possible haste hither; that the King desyres you to lose no tyme, and indeed your absence is wonderfully inconvenient; since nothing can be resolved, nor, if it could be resolved, executed, till you come.'[2]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. ff. 271, 303, 317; March 24, 29, April 12, 1658.

[2] *Carte MSS.*, ccxiii. ff. 97, 99; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 132; *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. ff. 134, 153, 257, 277.

CHAPTER XI

Coolness between the King and the Princess of Orange—Balcarres —Harry Jermyn—The Court at Antwerp—Grants of Honours —The Ball of the Duchess of Newcastle—Death of Rochester —Ball of Hannibal Seestadt—Departure of Mary—Return of Charles to Brussels—Renewed Quarrel between King and Princess—The King's Reputation—Lucy Walter—Her Refusal to give up her Child—Removal of the Child to Paris—Folly of his Tutors—The King's Character—Resolve to leave Bruges—Extreme Poverty—State of the Army—Quarrels at Court—Coldness between King and Duke of York—New Scheme of Bristol—Conversion of Bristol.

1657 THE year 1657 had brought private as well as public troubles to Charles, and chief of these was the defection of his sister Mary, whom he had once accounted his best friend. On her return from France in December 1657 the Princess made it plain that she had cast in her lot with the Queen and the Palais Royal. In the quarrel between Charles and James she had sided entirely with the younger brother,[1] and the ever-growing coolness between herself and the King broke at last into an active quarrel concerning her treatment of Lord and Lady Balcarres. When seeking to conciliate the Presbyterians in 1655[2] Charles had induced his sister to take Lady Balcarres into her household, but, being subsequently displeased by Balcarres's persistent intrigues with the Palais Royal, he banished both husband and wife from his own Court, and peremptorily required Mary to do likewise.[3]

[1] See pages 276, 280. [2] See page 99.

[3] *French Papers*, R. O., May 1-11, 1657, Bampfylde to Thurloe; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 259.

Mary declared as peremptorily the 'unreasonableness' of visiting with her indignation all whom her brother happened to dislike,[1] and to this Charles replied at some length:

'I do not desire that you should prosecute all persons I am displeased with, but I certainly may expect from the kindness we have always had together, that those who are justly in my disfavour, and who I have told you are so should not be the better for it, and that all the world should see you favour persons who, I think, deserve the contrary. I shall, for the present, only name my Lord Balcarres, who I cannot choose but take notice of, that you have used him much better since I have been unsatisfied with him than ever you did before. Judge whether I have not reason to be troubled when everybody must take notice of this to both our prejudices. I will only add this was not so two years ago, and I cannot accuse myself of being changed from what I was then.'[2] 1657 September

Mary retorted that her treatment of Balcarres was as unchanged as was his 'duty and service' to the King; the mutual 'sharpness' remained unabated,[3] and though Charles's request for pecuniary assistance was not refused in the autumn, the Princess could not refrain from commenting on it to Heenvliet.

'Je suis comme vous m'êtes témoin toujours prête de me sacrifier pour le service du Roi, mais il me semble qu'on me devait donner au moins de bonnes paroles pour mon argent' (*sic*).[4] December

But the money did not purchase 'good words,' and in January 1658 arose a new, and yet more serious, quarrel, consequent on the presence of Harry Jermyn at Breda. 1658 January

James, having sent his army into winter quarters, and

[1] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 330, July 19, 1657.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. fol. 57; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 363, September 20, 1657.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. ff. 43, 67; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 369.

[4] *Rawlinson MSS.*, A. cxv. fol. 251, December 11, 1657.

despatched his 'small affairs' in Brussels, joined his sister and younger brother at Breda on January 14, and with him went, naturally enough, his friend and follower, Harry Jermyn.[1] What passed precisely is not very clear, but scandals were circulated about the Princess and her brother's 'gentleman,' just as they had already been circulated about the Queen and the elder Jermyn.[2] Charles furiously recalled his sister's supposed lover to Bruges, and Mary, violently resenting the implied insult, wrote to him bitterly:

1658 February

'Now that you see how exactly you are obeyed, I hope you will give me leave to desire you to consider what consequences your severity will bring upon me. To justifie any of my actions to you in this occasion were, I think, to do as much wrong to both my brothers as to my own innocency since they have been witnesses to what the insolency of some persons has dared to represent unto you as faults. Therefore I will leave it to them and only think of what will now reflect upon me, which, as I have the honour to bee your sister, you ought to consider too, and not to make a public discourse of what can nether prove for your honor nor myne. I am so willing to think that you only try to what a degree my obedience is to you that I cannot but persuade myself you will now give my brother the Duke of York leave to send for M. Jermyn backe, which will not only stop the malitious tongues, but give me the happiness of seeing that you take a kindly as well as a brotherly interest in me. Otherwise I shall conclude you have absolutely abandoned me.'[3]

Charles replied with equal heat:

'I have instructed my brother so fully with my opinion and advice, as I shall not enter into those particulars, which have given me so much trouble, as this unhappy business hath done; though I must confess, I am sorry to see you take it as you do, and think that my severity is

[1] *Thurloe*, vi. p. 729; *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 330.
[2] *Rawlinson MSS.*, A. cxv. fol. 274, January 16, 1658.
[3] *Thurloe Papers*, i. p. 664, February 2, 1658.

the only thing to be satisfied, when I assure you, what I said and counselled you in the thing was merely out of kindness to you; and if I had been in your place the advertisement would have been very welcome to me, and pray God we do not find, as you have ordered it, the malitious scandal rather augmented than abated. And it appears to me very strange that you should think the continuing of that, which is a cause of the report, should be a means of taking it away. I shall say no more, but refer all to my brother; and only add that I hope you cannot imagine I am so little careful either of your honour or my own, as to show to the world I know anything of this business much less to make any public discourse of it; and what I advise you in this matter proceeds purely out of that kindness which I will ever have for you.'[1]

And again he wrote to the same effect:

'I shall referre to my brother all I have to say in answer to your last letter, having tould him my opinion how we ought to govern ourselves, as matters now stand. Only I cannot chuse but tell you I am sorry you changed the resolution we took before you left this place, which was then my opinion and which I am still confident had been a better means of avoyding all inconveniences that might follow than that which was taken. That which I conceive now to be the only meanes to shunne any future inconvenience . . . is your immediate coming hither, which will take away the cause of any further malice.'[2]

Mary submitted to this mandate, and in February joined the King, with her two younger brothers, at Antwerp, where Henry and the French Count, De Marchin, were elected and installed Knights of the Garter. Charles, having nothing more substantial to give his friends, had at last begun to yield to their incessant petitions for titles and honours, and Hyde, who opposed this course strongly, was the unwilling recipient of the

[1] *Thurloe*, i. pp. 662-663.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. p. 663.

first of these favours. When, on the death of Sir Edward Herbert, in January 1658,[1] the King delivered the Great Seal into his hands and declared him Lord High Chancellor of England,[2] Hyde objected that the office was unnecessary, pending the Restoration, and that the King was less likely to be plagued for grants of honours, offices, and lands while it remained in abeyance. For reply Charles drew a bundle of letters from his pocket, and threw them upon the table with the remark that the daily importunity to which he was subjected made him anxious 'to put the Seal out of his own keeping into such hands as would not be importuned, and would help him to deny.'[3] Hyde thereupon reluctantly accepted the office, and Sir John Berkeley, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and William Crofts were immediately raised to the Peerage as Barons. Report gave the like honours to Hyde, Nicholas, and Middleton, Schomberg, and Wyndham,[4] and though this was mere gossip, Hyde really had difficulty in preventing the King from creating De Marchin an Earl, and could not prevent his admission to the Order of the Garter.[5] To this honour the French Count eagerly aspired, and though it was unusual to accord it to any foreigner not of royal birth, Ormonde's dictum that De Marchin would prove 'a more considerable friend to the King than any stranger that is not a prince in power,' eventually gained him his desire.[6]

1658 March

'On Monday the King delivered the Order of the Garter to M. Marchin,' wrote Edward Walker. 'He was introduced between the Lord Newcastle and the Earl of Bristol, I preceding in my coach, carrying the insignia. He was first knighted, then I read the command for his election, and then his Majesty put the George round his neck, and the assistants the Garter and Cloak, and so,

[1] January 3, 1658, N. S., at St. Germains.
[2] January 13, 1658, N. S.
[3] *Clarendon, History*, xv. p. 83; *Thurloe*, vi. p. 729.
[4] *Thurloe*, vi. p. 729; *French Papers*, R. O., January 15-25, 1658, Church to Nicholas.
[5] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 297.
[6] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. fol. 48, January 23, 1658.

after his humble acknowledgment, the ceremony ended. He has paid all his fees to the King's servants and remembered me to my satisfaction, and on Wednesday went to Brussels.'[1]

This ceremony was followed by various festivities, and notably by a ball given by the Duchess of Newcastle, which Hyde, though 'strangely recovered of the gout,' forbore to attend, 'lest,' it was said jestingly, 'the ladies might have led him out to dance.' But to most of the exiles so brilliant an entertainment was a rare treat, and glowing accounts of it reached Nicholas at Bruges.

'The ball at my Lord Newcastle's was on Wednesday night, where the Duchess of Lorraine,[2] with her son and daughter, were, with the King and his brothers and sister,' wrote Sir Charles Cotterel. 'M. B., and two or three Frenchmen were also there, and a little room was well filled with most of the English here, and some of the town. . . . The King was brought in with loud music, and all being placed, Major Mohun, that was the player, in a black satin robe and garland of bays, spake a speech in verse, of his Lordship's own poetry, wherein as much was said of compliment to his Majesty as the highest hyperbole could possibly express. After that they danced for two hours, and then my Lady Moore, dressed all in feathers, came in and sung a song of the same author's, and set and taught by Nicholas Lanier. Then was the banquet brought in, in eight great chargers, each borne by two gentlemen belonging to the Court, wines and other drinks which being dispersed to all the Company, they danced again for two hours more, and Major Mohun, in the same habit, ended all with another speech by way of prophecy of his Majesty's establishment. . . .'[3]

[1] *Flanders Papers*, Walker to Nicholas, February 19-March 1, 1658; Cotterel to Nicholas, March 1, 1658; Gilbert Talbot to Nicholas, March 7, 1658.

[2] Beatrix de Cusance, Comtesse de Cantecroix.

[3] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Cotterel to Nicholas, March 1, 1658; Walker to Nicholas, March 1, 1658.

On the very day that Cotterel's letter was written Rochester died, after a long illness, at Ghent, and the Court was saddened by the announcement of the Earl's 'happy departure, out of this unhappy world.' With all his faults Rochester had been a good comrade to Charles, especially during their wanderings through England in 1651. But though the King had professed considerable affection for him, it was not in his nature to mourn for the lost, and even before his friend had been laid to rest beside Lord Hopton, 'with what decency and as little noise' as was possible, he had attended a great ball and banquet at the house of Hannibal Seestadt.[1] This was the last of the Antwerp festivities, and at eight o'clock the next morning, March 4, Mary set out on her way to Breda. Though the country was considered 'very dangerous' all three brothers accompanied her, with an escort of only twenty persons, as far as Wuestwezel, whence Charles turned back to Antwerp. The others went on to Breda, where Henry was to remain indefinitely. James promised to return in two days, but a violent attack of toothache, which 'necessitated (him) to draw a tooth and be let blood,' detained him till March 8, the day fixed by Charles for his own return to Brussels.[2] Though the farewell supper, given by Hannibal Seestadt, lasted until two o'clock of that morning, the King was ready to start at half-past four, but his coachman was not. Half an hour's delay lost both tide and boat, and to the consternation of those who awaited him at Brussels the servants arrived without their master.

'We expected the King till eight at night, but he came not,' averred Norwich, and great was the general relief when he arrived with full explanations on the following day.[3]

[1] *Flanders Papers*, R.O., Price to Nicholas, March 1, 1658; G. Talbot to Nicholas, February 21-March 8, March 12-22, 1658.

[2] *Ibid.*, Talbot to Nicholas, February 21-March 3, 1658; Fox to Nicholas, February 22-March 4, 1658, February 25-March 7, 1658; Norwich to Nicholas, March 7-17, 1658.

[3] *Ibid.*, Fox to Nicholas, February 26-March 8, 1658; Norwich to Nicholas, March 9, 1658.

The meeting at Antwerp had done something to 'assure the world of the royal family's unity,' and had been of substantial benefit to Charles inasmuch as he had lived, for the time, as his sister's guest, but towards the healing of the breach between them nothing had been done. In a stormy interview with Mary, Charles declared that the Jermyns were destined to be his ruin, Mary answered with fierce reproaches for his insulting view of her own conduct, and they parted mutually embittered.[1]

The Princess might well have retorted with a recommendation to her brother to have a care of his own reputation, which a summer passed 'among the ladies' in Brussels had by no means improved.[2]

In June 1657 Ormonde had complained that 'some write strangely of the King's person and how he passes his time,'[3] and a few months later the scandal took a more definite form with the advent of Charles's former mistress, Lucy Walter or Barlow, to Brussels. This woman came of a good Welsh family, and though possessed 'of little wit,' was gifted 'with great beauty and some cunning.' Charles had found her living at the Hague in September 1648 as the mistress of Robert Sidney, had quickly won her for himself, and acknowledged as his own the son to which she gave birth in the following April. But her light conduct during his absence in Scotland had caused him subsequently to renounce the connection, and though she followed him to France in 1651 and endeavoured to regain him by the help of Dr. Cosin, to whom she feigned herself a penitent, 'she used in vain all her little arts.' Charles remained obdurate, and eventually she left Paris to seek her fortune in Flanders.[4] There she fell in with Sir Henry de Vic, and beguiled that worthy man into seeking the King's

1657 June

1648 September

1649 April

1651 November

1654

[1] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., February 25-March 7, Fox to Nicholas; *French Papers*, January 15-25, 1658, Church to Nicholas; *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. fol. 172.

[2] *Thurloe Papers*, vi. p. 584.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 53, June 21, 1657.

[4] See *The King in Exile*, pp. 70, 95; *Macpherson*, i. pp. 75, 76.

consent to his marriage with her, much to the amusement and a little to the alarm of his friends.

1655 'I am sorrie for poor Sir Henry de Vic, for lett the match break or goe on, it is every way ill for him,' wrote the Queen of Bohemia to Nicholas.

But eventually the intending bridegroom was persuaded out of his folly, and the only effect of the agitation appears to have been the settling of a pension of 5000 livres a year on the would-be bride.[1]

This was a sum, which, to say the least, Charles could ill afford, but he probably hoped by this means to induce the woman to give up her son, of whom he had become anxious to gain possession. Mrs. Barlow was however too well aware of the child's value to surrender him voluntarily, and she returned with him to the Hague, where she remained for about eighteen months.

Several letters written by Mary at this period contain jesting references to her brother's 'wife,' but though they have been generally applied to Mrs. Barlow there is practically no evidence to connect them.

The first of these references occurs in a letter dated May 20, 1655:

1655 May 'Your wife is resolving whether she will write or no, therefore I am to say nothing to you from her, but will keep open my letter as long as the post will permit to expect what good nature will work, which I find now does not at all, for it is now eleven of the clock and no letter comes.'

June On the 21st of June she wrote in the same strain:

'Your wife presents her humble duty to you which is all she can say. I tell her 'tis because she thinks of another husband and does not follow your example of being as constant a wife as you are a husband.'

And again on her return from Cologne to the Hague she informed Charles:

'Your mother says that the greatest thankfulness shee can show for the honour of your kind remembrance is to

[1] *Evelyn*, iv. pp. 219, 222, December 11-21, 1654, January 4, 1655.

have a special care of your wife, for feare her husband here may make her forget them that are absent. Your wife thanks you in her own hand, and still (sic) though she begs me very hard to help her.'[1]

It has always been supposed that Mary thus alluded to her brother's mistress, and she has consequently been blamed for flippancy and indecorum. But it is much more likely that she was alluding in jest to Jane Lane, who dwelt in her household, and corresponded often with the King.[2] Though Jane Lane was of an irreproachable virtue, the circumstances of Charles's flight with her through England in 1651 had given rise to both jests and malicious scandal, and it might well be that Mary chose to designate her mockingly as the King's wife. Who the 'mother' could be is a mystery, but she certainly was not Henrietta Maria, and if the lady alluded to were really Jane Lane, the 'husband' was, probably, Lord Newburgh, who, report said, had come to the Hague to woo her.[3]

1656 February

In any case it is incredible that Mary could thus have forced on her brother's notice a woman whom it was well-known he had abandoned on account of her unfaithfulness, nor is it possible that she could have had any intercourse with a person who, at that very time, was leading so disorderly a life that Heenvliet, the Princess's own servant, proposed to banish her from the place. His intention was only frustrated by the intervention of O'Neil, who pleaded the scandal that would be revived about the King. For the woman herself he had no pity, and on February 8, 1656, he wrote of her to Charles:

'I am much troubled to see the prejudice her being here does your Majesty, for every idle action of hers brings your Majesty upon the stage, and I am no less ashamed to have so much importuned your Majesty to have believed her worthy of your care.'[4]

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, i. p. 665; *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 133.
[2] Hughes's *Boscobel Tracts*, p. 76.
[3] *Thurloe*, i. p. 674; v. p. 166.
[4] *Ibid.*, i. p. 683.

A week later he had delivered her from the vengeance of her maid by means of threats and 200 guilders, but he added, 'Though I have saved her for this time, it's not likely she will escape when I am gone. . . . Therefore it were well, if your Majesty will own the child, to send your positive commands to deliver him unto whom your Majesty will appoint. I know it from one who has read my Lord Taafe's last letter to her of the 11th, by this last post, that hee tells her, your Majesty has nothing more in your consideration than her sufferings, and that the next money you can get or borrow shall be sent to supply her. Whyle your Majesty encourages any to speak this language, she'll never obey what you will have. The only way is to necessitate her, if your Majesty can think her worth your care.'[1]

1656 May — In spite of this Lucy Barlow obtained an interview with the King in May 1656, when she permitted him to see the child, of whom she took care still to retain possession. In the same month she crossed to England in the company of her brother, Justus Walter, Thomas Howard, and her two children.[2] In London she took lodgings at a barber's, near Somerset House, where she gave herself out as the widow of a Dutch captain, but her 'costly and high manner of life' soon attracted the notice of the authorities, and in July she was arrested and taken to the Tower as a person of ill-fame.

June — Being examined by Barkstead, she declared that the King's son was dead, and that the two children with her were those of her Dutch husband. Further, she denied having seen the King within two years, and maintained that she had crossed in the same boat with Walter and Howard by the merest chance. But, though she was

July — released on July 16, the Government was not likely to forgo so good an opportunity of lowering the King in the eyes of the nation, and an account of her arrest and

[1] *Thurloe*, i. p. 684, February 14, 1656.

[2] James, afterwards Duke of Monmouth, and Mary, daughter of Lord Taafe.

connection with Charles was published in *Mercurius Politicus*, together with the King's warrant for her pension, found upon her, and the telling comment:

'How well he disposeth of the collections and contributions they make for him here.'[1]

Returning to Flanders, Lucy Barlow next pursued Charles to Brussels, and on August 1, 1657, Hyde wrote to Ormonde: 1657 August

'Here is much talk of a certain lady who is at Brussels, and I assure you many shrewd discourses of it, which will quickly get into England. I pray let her go to some other place.'[2] But to dismiss her from Brussels was out of Ormonde's power, and before the end of the month a new scandal was stirred up by the attempt of one of her dependents to stab Tom Howard in the street. The attempt failed through a lucky movement of Howard's which caused the blow to lodge in his arm, and Hyde found it in his heart to jest on the subject, for which Bristol rebuked him with: 'You may be merry concerninge Mrs. Barlo, but I assure you I cannot bee it enough to answer your levityes.'[3]

The trouble caused by the woman only made the King the more resolved to withdraw her son from her care, and on December 5, Colonel Slingsby, acting on secret orders from the King, endeavoured to have her seized and imprisoned as a debtor. 'She resisted with great cries, appealing to the justice of Heaven and embracing her son, the great clamour gathered all the Street and much people besides, all scandalised at the violence of the Colonel, who at last consented that the lady should remain with her son for the night in the house of the Earl of Castlehaven.'[4] . . . December

Don Alonso then interfered to re-establish the lady in

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 160, 169, 178; *Mercurius Politicus*, July 16, 1656; Ellis, *Letters*, 2nd series, vol. iii.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 241.

[3] *Ibid.*, lv. fol. 319; lvi. fol. 4; *Thurloe*, vi. p. 463.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. fol. 278, December 6, 1657.

her own house, under the impression that he was thereby doing the King service, and Castlehaven was sent to Bruges for instructions, bearing a letter of apology from Mottet to Ormonde. 'I am so much ashamed of the proceedings of M. Slingsby and all his family against Mme. Barlow and her child that I am loth to relate them,' declared the secretary, 'referring the same to what you will have of my Lord Castlehaven and M. Bercley, who have been witnesses of it, and depart this day hence for your Court.

'My Lord Ambassador[1] hath written to the King about it, being forced thereunto by the clamour of the people, who found this action most barbarous, abominable, and most unnatural. And the worst of all is that Sir Arthur doth report and say to all that the King hath given him order for it. But out of my obligation and respect to ye King, I do endeavour to disabuse all of it. I shall desire your Excellency to honour me so far as to let me know his Majesty's sense about the affaire that I may, by the knowledge thereof, act the better what is most conformable to his Majesty's pleasure.'[2]

To this communication Ormonde replied in terms which showed Don Alonso and his secretary that they had made a serious mistake.

'I have shown the King yours of the 6th to me, and upon it he commands me to let you know that he takes your proceedings in the business of Mrs. Barlow very kindly, being well satisfied that what you have done was out of your care of any parte that he might have in it.

'He is pleased to acknowledge that he gave order to Sir Arthur Slingsby in a quiet and silent way, if it could be, to get the child out of the mother's hands, with purposes of advantage to them both, but he never understood it should be attempted with that noise and scandal that hath happened, and to this purpose I think his Majesty hath written to my Lord Ambassador. His

[1] Alonso de Cardenas.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. fol. 280, December 6, 1657; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 382.

Majesty persists in his desire to have the child delivered into such hands as hee shall apoynt, and will take himself to be much obliged to you, if by your meanes it may be effected, either by disposing my Lord Ambassador to interpose his power in it, or by any other way you shall find more proper. Besides the obligation it will be to ye King, it will be a great charity to the childe, as in the conclusion, to the mother, if she shall now at length retire herself into shuch a way of living as may redeem in some measure the reproach her past ways have brought upon her. If she consent not to this, she will add to all her former follies a most unnatural one, in reference to her child, which, by her obstinacy, must be exposed to all the misery and reproach that must attend her when neither of them is any further cared for or owned by his Majesty, but that, on the contrary, he will take any good office done to her as an injury to him, and as a support of her in her mad disobedience to his pleasure. In this case it ought to be considered whether she should not bee compelled to be good to herself, or at least to be restrayned from ruining her innocent child, that she may not make a property of him to support herself in those wild and disgraceful courses shee hath taken. And whether the condition of the parties concerned does not so far dissever this from other cases that ye King may not reasonably pretend to a more than ordinary complyance with his desires. The conclusion of all is that if his Majesty can have the childe disposed of according to his directions it will much content and oblige him, and the mother will find her accompt in it, if her future deportment be as it ought. If not, he will free himself as best he may from any further trouble or scandal, and leave her to her future.'[1]

This letter, backed by a rebuke from Don Juan, and 'the unanimous complaynt of the Council of Brabant' concerning the interruption to justice, put Don Alonso 'infinitely out of countenance,' and he thereupon endea-

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 382, December 10, 1657.

voured to repair his error by detaining Lucy Walter in his house until she should submit to the King's demands. As she still resisted, refusing to leave the child, and threatening to 'post up' the King's letters to her, O'Neil proposed to put pressure on her by searching her trunks
1658 January for 'suspicious papers.'[1] But, at the end of January, she yielded suddenly, and in April Charles sent Thomas Ross 'to take his little son out of the hands he was in, and bestow him—for a short time—in another place, both out of his mother's knowledge and of any one else's.'

April Ross confessed his surprise at his selection for the errand, but concluded that he was destined to be the child's tutor, adding:

'It is a great pity so pretty a child should be in such hands as hitherto have neglected to teach him to read or to tell twenty, though he hath a great deal of wit, and a great desire to learn.'[2]

Eventually the boy was sent to Paris, where he was educated as a Roman Catholic under the eye of the Queen-Mother, and had his head filled with ideas of his own legitimacy by his two tutors, Ross and Dr. Goffe, who actually went the length of proposing to Dr. Cosin the forgery of a certificate of the King's marriage with Lucy Walter, an imprudence which cost Ross his post. The mother, abandoned to a life of vice, died before the Restoration.[3]

1657 In these circumstances the request of some English Royalists that Hyde would write a 'character' of the King, whereby his interest at home might be greatly advanced, appeared, to say the least, ill-timed.[4]

Charles's faithful ministers had already ceased to hide from themselves, or from one another, the unworthiness of their idol, and it was with poignant grief that they

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. pp. 301, 332; lvii. fol. 27, December 13, 1657, January 22, 1658.

[2] *Flanders Papers*, R.O., Ross to Nicholas, April 1658.

[3] *Macpherson*, i. pp. 75, 76.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. fol. 17.

witnessed and admitted his deterioration. In May Ormonde had addressed a personal remonstrance to his master, which wrung from the Chancellor words of enthusiasm, 'God's blessing on your heart for your letter to the King by O'Neil. An honester and wiser, I never read, and truly I think it hath made a deep impression. I am sure it hath given me occasion of preaching at large. I beshrew him who writ it, if he does not often inforce the matter of it, and then we shall be happy.'[1]

But though Charles endured the admonitions of his ministers with meekness, he made no effort for amendment, and when in January he announced his intention of going to Brussels to 'quicken' the Spanish Ministers, Ormonde frankly refused to credit him with so worthy a motive.

'He must pardon me if I cannot believe it is that which disposes him to the journey, or will be his employment there,' he wrote to Hyde. 'I must now freely confess to you that what you have written of the King's unreasonable impatience at his stay at Bruges is a greater danger to my hopes of his recovery than the strength of his enemies, or the weaknesse and backwardnesse of those that professe him friendship. Modesty, courage, and many accidents may overcome those enemies, and unite and fix those friends, but I fear his immoderate delight in empty, effeminate, and vulgar conversation is become an irresistible part of his nature, and will never suffer him to animate his own designs and others' actions with that spirit which is requisite for his quality and much more to his fortune. This, to any but to you or him, or from any—unlesse very few—but from mee, or from mee at any other time, were too bold a lamentation, for so, God knows, it is. But God bless him and fit him for his work.'[2] 1658 January

Hyde sought to console his correspondent with the assurance, 'The King behaves himself to your wish.'

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. fol. 225, May 14, 1657.
[2] *Ibid.*, lvii. fol. 54, January 27, 1658.

But in regard to Charles's 'unreasonable impatience' at his residence in Bruges, there could be no concealment. In the previous autumn, Hyde had written from Brussels, 'I see that our master hath so great an appetite to this place as at some day or other we shall dwell here,'[1] and in less than six months the prophecy was fulfilled. When the postponement of the English expedition turned Charles's thoughts to the problem of 'how to live in the interim,' his first resolve was to live no more at Bruges.[2] This he intimated to Fox and Hyde on his return to Brussels in March, and the Chancellor forthwith despatched to John Nicholas elaborate directions for the removal of his property from Bruges.[3]

1658 March-April

But it was one thing to pack the Chancellor's goods and quite another to transfer the 'family' to Brussels. For this, money was needed, and money was not forthcoming. The return from Antwerp had been made possible by John Shaw's loan of 1500 florins. Another 2000 florins lent by James just sufficed to preserve his brother 'from the greatest misery in the world,' and the resourceful Fox contrived a considerable economy by obtaining the Archbishop's licence for the King to employ his own butcher in Lent. But all this was little enough; the King's pension was nine months in arrears, the Spaniards were 'possest,' or chose to 'seem so,' that he was amply supplied by his sister and English friends, and though Bennett was assured that 50,000 crowns had been sent for him from Madrid, De Vic, Bristol, and Charles himself assailed Don Juan in vain.[4] The Court was in a 'distracted condition,' and the very existence of the army was at stake; even the allowance of bread had been stopped, the officers of Ormonde's and Bristol's regiments

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. fol. 154, October 15, 1657.

[2] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., March 15-25, 1658, Norwich to Nicholas.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. fol. 293, April 5, 1658.

[4] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Fox to Nicholas, March 7, 10, 13, 18, 29, 1658, N. S.; Talbot to Nicholas, March 29, 1658, N. S.; De Vic to Nicholas, January 9, 1658, N. S.

were all soliciting relief in Brussels, and the 'reformadoes' declared themselves absolutely starving. They had hoped that the King's return would put things 'in a better posture,' and Charles was actually goaded to industry by their plight and his own. But, unfortunately, the many complaints of the English soldiers' disorderly conduct had not increased Don Juan's anxiety to relieve their wants. Charles's appeal was answered with a 'severe' complaint against the regiment at Dixmude, which was said to have pillaged houses and robbed a church unpunished, and though their colonel, Blague, offered a satisfactory defence, the Spaniards remained unappeased. They were probably, as Fox observed, 'glad upon any pretence to delay parting with money, and the increasing dissensions of Don Juan and Caracena rendered hopes of relief more remote than ever. All that could be done for 'the poor reformed gentlemen' was 'to send for the French cook,' and endeavour to 'dispose him to furnish them for a month longer,' and on March 18, Fox wrote despairingly to Nicholas.

'We are in the greatest want that ever I saw in this Court, nor have I the least hope of our arrears. It may be done as a disguise, but it is a very unpleasant one to me, to be forced to shift when I am at the end of my credit, and the day is come for large payments which have been staved off all this while.'

At last, 'with much ado,' and after stormy interviews with Don Juan, Charles obtained promise of one month's pension, which was subsequently reduced to 5000 florins. But even this, little enough for a king, 'called upon from all hands for debts now due,' was found to overcharge the treasury, and, as a crowning misfortune, Henry returned from Breda in April with the news that his sister was unable to maintain him there.[1]

[1] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Fox to Nicholas, March 7, 10, 15, 18, 22, April 3, 8, 24, 1658, N. S.; Talbot to Nicholas, March 13, 15, 21, 22, 29, 1658, N. S.; Walker to Nicholas, March 1, 7, 21, April 7, 1658, N. S.; De Vic to Nicholas, March 15, 1658, N. S.; Hyde to Nicholas, April 5, 1658, N. S.

Desperation induced a rumour that the King was about to attempt 'some sudden, private action,' but it proved ill-founded and the Court continued to dwell in 'want and contempt' and much bitterness of spirit.

Relations between James and Charles were more than ever strained. It was an additional drop of bitterness in the King's cup that his brother had received supplies while they were still denied to himself, and James's readiness to lend what he had did not much lessen the elder brother's chagrin at the preference shown to his cadet.[1]

'I much fear there are some that blow new coldness between the two brothers,' observed Norwich, and the 'some one' was of course Bristol, who had devised a new scheme to conciliate Condé by uniting the King's troops with those of the Prince. Having won Charles's consent, he began to talk vaguely of the new means to preserve and increase the troops, thereby throwing James into 'a hot alarm' lest 'some extraordinary proposition' should be offered him. In due time it came. Prefacing the blow with praises of Condé, and remarks on the 'great esteem' always professed by him for James, Bristol at last came to the point, and proposed the union of the two armies—James was thus placed in a most difficult position. He was extremely averse to be subordinated to Condé, after having himself held the chief command, and he was besides aware that his consent to the scheme would deeply offend the Spaniards, who already found their French ally overpowerful. On the other hand dissent would equally offend Condé, whose friendship was important, and who continually protested that his troops should be at his cousin's service whenever he had need of them. Finally Charles would not be slow to believe that his brother had preferred his own 'punctilio' before the service of his Sovereign. James therefore assumed an attitude of passive resistance, an art which he possessed in exasperating perfection. Charles tried

[1] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Fox to Nicholas, March 22, 1658; Norwich to Nicholas, March 25, 1658.

to talk him over in vain, and Condé, perceiving at last that the thing could not be done, chose to tell his own version of the affair to Don Juan. As a result of this James was exalted to a height in the Spaniard's favour which he had never before enjoyed, but which proved a poor substitute for the friendship of Condé who 'ever afterwards quite altered his way of living' with him.[1]

This incident completed the downfall of Bristol, and on the 4th of April Walker wrote to Nicholas: 1658 April

'We are all dead in discourse, and no person so fallen in appearance and gesture as your great brother secretary.' And three days later:

'Lord Bristol is gone to Ghent, and lets his beard grow; hence rumours of some private undertaking, but I think the ministers here are unsatisfied with him.'[2]

In the following September Bristol made a final bid for Spanish favour by submitting himself to the Church of Rome, but his conversion brought him rather disaster than advantage. Charles was constrained thereby to dismiss him from his office of secretary; Don Juan took no notice at all, and the discarded favourite was fain to remain in poverty and obscurity at Ghent.[3] September

[1] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. pp. 331-332, 334; *Thurloe Papers*, i. p. 668.

[2] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., April 4, 7, 1658, N. S.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. ff. 222, 396; lix. fol. 58, September 6, 30, October 12, 1658; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. Appendix.

CHAPTER XII

Campaign of 1658—Battle of the Dunes—Loss of Dunkirk—James at Nieuport—Charles's Desire to go to Madrid—New Overtures to Rome—Cardinal de Retz—Charles at Hochstraaten—Family Quarrels—Charles's Tour in the United Provinces—Charles and Henriette of Orange—Death of Cromwell—Charles's Proposal for Henriette—The Dukes at the Hague—Effects of Cromwell's Death in Holland—In France—In Spain and Flanders—Betrothal of Henriette to Prince of Anhalt—Charles's Reputation—His Hopeless Condition—Duelling at Court—The Dukes at Breda—Separation of the Family—Resentment of Mary against Charles.

1658 May

WHEN James joined the army in the spring of 1658 he found the campaign conducted on much the same lines as that of the previous years, matters being rendered worse than ever by the quarrel that raged between Don Juan and Caracena. Each strove perpetually to blame the other for all misadventure, and the final result of their efforts was the loss of Dunkirk.[1] Early in the year Charles had received warning from England that Dunkirk would be the object of the French attack; but the Spaniards persisted in regarding the warning as a mere ruse to divert their attention from Cambrai, and when De Lede came to plead for supplies he received only assurances of his safety and exhortations to trust in the defence of the army. The vanity of that trust was well known to him, and he bade farewell to Charles with the despondent remark that he went to failure and death.[2] He spoke truly. On May 24 N. S. Turenne effected a junction with the English forces of Lockhart

[1] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 337.

[2] *Clarendon, History*, xv. pp. 134-135.

at Mardyke, and on the following day he invested Dunkirk, which was simultaneously blockaded at sea by the English fleet. It was then too late to throw succours into the town, and all that the Spanish generals could do was to attempt to relieve it by battle. Accordingly a rendezvous was made at Ypres, when it was decided to fix the Spanish camp upon the sandhills as near to the enemies' lines as might be, and await a chance of battle. Condé protested vehemently against the choice of ground, illustrating his arguments with a sketch of Turenne's probable action, but the Spanish generals, who agreed in no other thing, were unanimous in rejecting the advice of the French Prince, and Condé and James yielded to their ruling with bitterness and much misgiving. 1658 June

Events quickly proved Condé right. Henry's regiment was almost immediately captured wholesale at Mont Cassel, and in the very first skirmish the Spanish generals were all but taken *en masse*. Two of Condé's officers, the Maréchal d'Hocquincourt and De Boutteville, became engaged with the enemy's guards at some distance from the camp, and Condé thereupon sallied forth to the rescue of his men; Don Juan pursued Condé, and lastly followed James, 'at a large gallop.' The skirmish ended with a wound to Harry Jermyn and the death of D'Hocquincourt, from whose pockets Condé took care to remove the papers, while James faced about and maintained the fight to give him time.[1]

By June 13 the camp was firmly established on the sandhills, but James considered the most ordinary precautions neglected, and took occasion to discourse at supper on the probability of an immediate attack by the French. Caracena and De Gamarra, who were both present, replied haughtily that they desired nothing better, and James retorted that his own knowledge of Turenne assured him 'they should soon have that satisfaction.'[2] June 13th

[1] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 341. [2] *Ibid.*, i. p. 343

1658 June 14th

The proof of his words came speedily. By five o'clock the next morning the French force was drawn up in marching order, and James, watching from the Spanish outposts, easily recognised the English by their red coats. Don Juan still believed the movement a mere feint, but James protested that it was not Turenne's custom to draw out horse, foot, and cannon for such a purpose, and Condé endorsed his statement. Then, turning to the young Duke of Gloucester, the French Prince asked:

'Have you ever seen a battle?'

'No,' answered the boy.

'Then,' said Condé, 'in half an hour you shall see how we lose one.' And the generals retired to await attack in their respective quarters.

Condé's army was drawn up on the left, facing Turenne; Don Juan, on the right, was opposed to Lockhart's English, and next to him stood James's three battalions, under the command of Blague, MacCarty, Grace, and Urry. The advantage of the ground was with the Spaniards, who were stationed on the ridge of sandhills, so that the French were forced to charge up-hill, but so badly armed and officered were the Spanish troops that the result of the engagement was a foregone conclusion.

Lockhart's foot advanced first, outmarching the French 'with heat and courage.' But though they were thus isolated, the Spaniards were slow to attack, and, after a moment's breathing-space, the red-coats gallantly scaled the hill and drove back the Spaniards, with heavy loss of officers. James then charged with his own and Don Juan's guards, but failed to check the advance. Charles Berkeley fell wounded, and when James halted to look round him he found only forty of his own men near him and but one Spanish officer unhurt. Perceiving that Don Juan and Caracena were struggling to rally their men, he called out in Spanish that it was never the custom of Spaniards to fly while others stood, and thus

LOUIS II, PRINCE DE CONDÉ

From the engraving by Dequevauvillier in the British Museum.

induced some of the Spaniards to gather round his little English force. Caracena then rode up to know why he did not charge, to which he answered that he had already done so, but found the ground impossible. Nevertheless, on Lockhart's second advance he charged again with a mere handful of men, exhorting Don Juan to attack the van. But the Spaniards, seeing their main body in flight, scattered and followed it, and James broke alone through the English ranks, encountering a stout resistance which aroused his sincere admiration. ''Tis very observable,' he remarked, 'that when we had broken into this battalion, and were got amongst them, not so much as one single man of them asked quarter, but every one defended himself to the last, so that we ran as great danger by the butt-ends of their muskets as by the volley which they had given us.'

As in a later exile he rejoiced over the prowess of his rebel subjects, so now he gave his hostile compatriots due praise, and they, on their side, equally applauded his courage, confessing that 'they never saw so home a charge made with so few men.'

Once during the struggle James was nearly knocked off his horse, and Henry, who 'seconded' him bravely all that day, had his sword struck from his hand. Villeneuve, equerry of the Prince de Ligny, sprang down to recover it, while Henry guarded him with his pistol, and the timely intervention of De Ligny himself rescued the little band from its predicament. Thanks to the impossibility of distinguishing the French of Turenne from the French of Condé, or the English of Cromwell from the English of Charles, James and his men extricated themselves from their surroundings, and, 'trotting in good order,' overtook first Grace, and then Don Juan and Condé, whose flight they shared until the victorious army ceased from pursuit. The Spanish right had been cut to pieces, and Grace alone, of all the King's officers, brought off his men in safety. The Irish regiments of Bristol and MacCarty were almost annihilated, MacCarty

himself escaped by the merest chance, and though the King's guards long refused to yield, they were at last induced to do so by a French officer, who led them to the top of a hill, whence they could see the Spanish army in flight. Thus convinced of their own isolation, they agreed to take quarter on condition of not being given up to Lockhart, a condition readily granted by the French, who were much more in love with James than with their English allies. Indeed, on a rumour that the Duke had fallen into Lockhart's hands, three squadrons of French horse invaded the English quarters, ready to rescue him if need were, and later an attempt was made to save an English sergeant condemned to death as a deserter. The attempt failed, and such of Lockhart's prisoners as were proved deserters from his ranks were duly hanged, the rest shipped to England. But, happily for themselves, the greater number of Charles's men were taken by Lorrainers, who treated them well and admitted them to ransom.

1658 June 23rd-24th

Ten days after the battle, De Lede fell in a desperate sally from Dunkirk, and on the next day the town surrendered to the French, who exchanged it with Lockhart for Mardyke, according to agreement.[1]

Meanwhile the Spanish army had rallied at Furnes, where James mustered 600 men, but found that many of his officers had been killed or captured, and that most of those remaining to him were, more or less, severely wounded.[2] From Furnes they retired to Nieuport, and, at a council of war held on June 26, Don Juan proposed to defend the line of canal between that place and Dixmude. James opposed the proposal so hotly that Condé asked him how he dared to contradict Don Juan.

'Because,' retorted the young Stuart, 'I have no desire to be forced to run again!'

[1] *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvi. ff. 249, 259; *Clarke Papers*, iii. pp. 153-159; *Memoirs of James II.*, i. pp. 348-361; *Clarendon, History*, xv. p. 137; *Thurloe*, vii. p. 170. [2] *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvi. fol. 249, June 25, 1656.

And to the surprise of all Don Juan yielded to his advice, divided the army into garrisons for the principal towns, and retired to Bruges.[1]

James was left in command at Nieuport, and in due time received the thanks of King Philip and Don Luis for his services, but the more practical recognition of assistance in filling up his numbers was denied him. His men remained unpaid and ill-quartered, 'either out of want or unwillingness' the pistole formerly paid to each English recruit was now withheld, and at the beginning of September he wrote despondently to the Chancellor: 1658 September

'There is now above a hundred that is come within this month, most of them English, that have not received a farthing, and are consequently in a very ill condition. And now there is a great many both at Aix and St. Omers that are lately come, for whom I can get nothing, which will be of very ill consequence to us, and consequently to them, which I am afraid they will see too late. . . . However, I will not leave tormenting them, though I must confess there is no pleasure in doing of it.'[2]

Fortunately for James, the dangerous illness of Louis XIV. hindered the French movements and preserved Nieuport from siege and inevitable capture. But in September Turenne resumed operations, invaded Flanders with 20,000 men, and approached so near the capital as to cause serious alarm for its safety. The walls were hastily repaired, the people from the country round flocked in with their possessions, and Don Juan hastened with all the Spanish horse to the city, where James joined him with a force of 1000 foot and 500 horse. But, instead of attacking Brussels, Turenne turned aside to pursue his career of conquest on the Lys, and James thereupon returned to his charge at Nieuport.

[1] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 363.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. fol. 213, September 3, 1658; *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvi. ff. 216, 249; *Thurloe*, vii. p. 337.

1658 March-April

Such being the state of Spanish affairs it may be easily conceived that those of the English King did not prosper. He had, in the early spring, renewed his desire to join the army, but Don Juan was more than ever averse from his company, and even his own people deemed it neither for his honour or advantage to take the field with such sorry troops as he now possessed. Thwarted in this, he next bethought him of making 'a sudden and unsuspected journey to Spain,' hoping thereby to persuade Philip IV. to include him in any treaty made with France, or, at least, to get the money destined for his use into his own hands.[1] The objections to this scheme were danger to the King's person on the journey, fear that the neglect shown him at Brussels might be continued with more fatal consequences at Madrid, and certainty that his religion would cause offence at the Spanish Court. It was, moreover, exceedingly doubtful whether even his personal petition could wring money from the impoverished Philip, while the distance of Madrid from England might prove a serious drawback in case of a sudden crisis. For all these reasons Hyde was against the project, and even Bristol saw little good in it, but Ormonde opined that, though it had 'more of danger than profit,' it would 'in conclusion, become to his Majesty an effect rather of necessity than choyse,' and Bennett repeatedly urged his master to counteract by his presence the misrepresentations of Peter Talbot, Don Alonso's agent at Madrid.[2] Charles was willing to make the venture, and proceeded so far towards it as to write to Hyde in June: 'Pray give order to have a little cart made, with two wheels, to carry my bed, and let them make the cases that my bed is to be put into fit for the purpose.'[3] But it was first essential to obtain money for the journey,

June

[1] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., March 18-28, 1658, Culpepper to Nicholas; March 28-April 7, 1658, Walker to Nicholas; *Carte MSS.*, ccxiii. fol. 99, April 14, 1658; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 136.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. pp. 26, 60, 74, 86, 97, 174, 219, 261, 312, June-September, 1658.

[3] *Ibid.*, lviii. fol. 64, June 5, 1658.

and equally essential to keep the object of that journey secret. Charles therefore let it be generally understood that he was about to present himself at the Imperial Diet, and applied to Don Juan for the necessary funds.[1] The Spanish Ministers answered that they needed all the funds available for their own army, and a proposal to raise money from the bishops and abbots met with a flat refusal.[2] In July Bennett confessed to having been told by Don Luis's secretary that Charles's presence at Madrid was inadmissible, and owned to doubts as to whether even that presence would prevent the Court from seeing through the spectacles of Don Alonso, or of 'Don Devil,' as the King now termed him. Finally, the Cardinal de Retz assured Charles that the objections to his scheme outweighed the advantages, and counselled him at least to wait till the end of the campaign, when he could take James with him, and leave Henry to deal with such emergencies as might arise in his absence.[3] 1658 July

Charles submitted to the wisdom of his friends the more reluctantly because it was by that time too late to go to Frankfort, no foreign prince being admitted to the city between 'the swearing of the people,' and the election of the Emperor.[4]

There remained only Rome, whither so many appeals had been sent in vain. Charles was now moved to appeal again by conversation with the Nuncio at Brussels, who proved 'reasonable' on the point of his conversion, and even expressed a willingness to assist his return to England 'and leave the rest to God.' On this encouragement the King sought an interview at Zevenbergen with his friend the Cardinal de Retz, whom he begged to June

[1] *Carte MSS.*, ccxiii. fol. 99; *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. fol. 362; lviii. fol. 49; *Thurloe Papers*, vii. pp. 141, 183, 221.

[2] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., May 15, 22, 23, 1658, Jane to Nicholas; *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. ff. 12, 21, 64, 88.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. ff. 97, 99, 109, 312; Carte's *Ormonde*, iii. pp. 670-672; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 137-142.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. fol. 333; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., June 30, 1658, Roper to Nicholas.

procure him a secret audience with the Pope. De Retz explained, as he had explained before, that the Pontiff could not treat personally with a heretic, and offered to attempt a new negotiation through the medium of Cardinal Barbarini, on the usual basis of religious toleration. But though he assured Barbarini of his own knowledge that the English King had 'all the qualities of a great monarch, and, amongst others, all the probity and gratitude that could be expected in a private person, yt had no other interest greater than the making good of his word,' and though Barbarini professed, on his side, to have Charles's interests 'passionately at heart,' nothing came of the overture. The whole intrigue failed, as others had failed before, and its chief results were a sharp remonstrance addressed to the Princess Mary by the States concerning Charles's presence on their territory, and an increased hostility towards him on the part of Mazarin, who found his friendship with De Retz even more obnoxious than his alliance with Spain.[1]

1658 August 17th

Thus disappointed on all sides Charles retired in August to Hoogstraeten, a little village situated on the border of the Dutch and Spanish Netherlands, so desolated by constant warfare that 'there appeared poverty in the faces and looks of the people, good grounds, without any stock, and in a word nothing that looked well but the houses, and those empty within.' One of these houses, large, bare, and unfurnished, was easily secured by Charles, and thither he went in the company of Ormonde, while Hyde remained at Breda with his wife.[2]

From Hoogstraeten Charles was able to hold frequent communication with his sister at Breda, but this intercourse no longer afforded to either the same joy as in former years. The quarrel about Balcarres had been renewed and embittered by the intervention of Henrietta,

July-August

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, xlix. fol. 82; lviii. ff. 88, 93, 133, 140, 142, 144, 145 lix. fol. 112; lx. fol. 258; *Rawlinson MSS.*, June 22, 1658.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. fol. 179; *Clarendon, History*, xv. p. 142; *Thurloe*, vii. p. 321.

who supported her daughter in a plan to make Lady Balcarres governess to the little Prince of Orange, and caused Jermyn to remind her son that the Scottish couple had been first taken into favour on his own recommendation. Charles retorted that if his recommendation proved so effective his displeasure should be equally so, and entreated his mother to yield the point at issue.

'I am so persuaded of the Queen's fondness for me that . . . I am confident she will desist in a matter which, if pursued, must put so publique an affront on me as will force me to resent it accordingly,' he wrote to Jermyn, 'and if the consideration of making an absolute breach between my sister and me will move anything, the matter will be forborne.'[1]

To this Henrietta replied with expressions of 'astonishment' at her son's attitude and reiterations of her confidence in Balcarres, whence she branched off to the old grievance of her children's want of confidence in herself.

'Depuis quelques années je n'ai rien appris de ce que vous feriez en votre maison, en celle de votre sœur et du Duc de Glocestre, que ce qui était manifeste à tout le monde. Je vous demande si cela se pratique entre des gens qui ont envie de bien vivre ensemble? Je vous conjure, afin que ce temps malheureux et étrange ne soit pas augmenté par une mauvaise intelligence entre votre sœur et vous, dont il semble vous la menacez. Je vous espère que dans votre première lettre vous changerez d'opinion, quand vous aurez bien considéré l'état où nous sommes, et que sert un grand malheur de faire eschouer ce qui n'a pas été jusques à cette heure le peu d'intelligence qu'il y a dans notre famille. Cela encouragera trop nos ennemis. Pour moi ce ne sera point ma faute. Je tâcherai toujours de le cacher et d'y remédier de tout mon pouvoir, et ferai toujours mon devoir, et prierai Dieu de vous donner toutes les bénédictions que vous souhaitez.'[2]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. ff. 109, 112, 121.
[2] *Ibid.*, lviii. fol. 184, July 9, 1658.

Jermyn supplemented this letter with an assurance that all troubles had their root in the King's unkind reserve towards his mother; Mary added an entreaty that he would at least answer her letter calmly.

'If for her sake you will not be lesse severe, yet, for God's sake, do not let your answer aggravate that unkindnesse that is already betwixt you.'

And James also saw fit to interfere and implore indulgence for his mother and sister, if only in consideration of their sex.[1]

To his brother Charles replied with a recapitulation of the causes of disagreement, and the comment:

'I do not finde that by doing unreasonable things of this kind, I eyther gaine anything or find myself more at my ease. . . . And if my sister valews my kindnesse, she will comply with me in this businesse, and if you wish there should be a right understanding preserved between us, you will use your highest endeavours to keep her from doing that which must disoblige me in the highest degree.'[2]

To his mother he forwarded documentary proof of Balcarres's attempt to re-establish the Covenant, and undermine Middleton's authority in the last Scottish rising, all of which, Hyde assured him, would be judged 'very reasonable,' at the Palais Royal;[3] and to Jermyn he despatched a vigorous vindication of his own conduct towards the Queen.

'I am sure you know how much I have wished and endeavoured to compass that good understanding among us all, which I am certain I have most reason to wish. And I cannot forbear saying that if I had been equally mett in those advances I am ready still to make, our enemies would not have had occasion to rejoice at our divisions. I agree with you that there is not such a communication of things between the Queen and me as

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. ff. 122, 128, 158, July 18, 19, August 5, 1658.
[2] *Ibid.*, lviii. fol. 160.
[3] *Ibid.*, lviii. ff. 158, 189, August 4, 23, 1658.

there ought to be, and if there had (been) I should not have omitted the acquainting her beforehand with my intention of giving the Chancellor that place he now holds. But I considered that his misfortune was such as not to be understoode rightly of the Queen, which made me omitt that which otherwise I would have done, not knowing how the Queen would take it.'[1]

Unfortunately the 'good understanding' desired by all was now rendered more remote than ever by the Queen's prohibition of the Anglican services, hitherto held by Dr. Cosin in his room at the Palais Royal. Charles remonstrated, but was informed in reply that the prayers had only been suffered to continue by an oversight, after the departure of himself and his brothers; and though Jermyn promised to provide a house in which the services might be performed, Cosin assured Hyde that this would avail nothing without the protection of the Queen.[2]

In the circumstances Charles found little pleasure in his sister's society, and endeavoured to console himself with hawking and stag-hunting, for which purpose he summoned his huntsman and hounds from Brussels.[3] But the standing corn impeded sport, few partridges were found for the hawks, and he next sought to relieve his tedium by making a tour in the United Provinces. 1658 August

Accompanied by Ormonde, Gerard, Armorer, and 'a man to look to his clothes,' he set out, early in September, for Tilburg, whence he passed to Ysselstein, near Utrecht. There he was the guest of that Dutch baron who had formerly entertained James, and, after a short stay, he proceeded, on the very day of Cromwell's death, to Amsterdam, and so to Alkmaar, intending to cross the Zuiderzee and visit Count William in Friesland. But at Enkhuizen he found himself storm-stayed, and his September

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. fol. 132.

[2] *Ibid.*, lviii. ff. 130, 158, 170, July 19, August 4, 9, September 13, 1658 lix. fol. 91, October 18, 1658.

[3] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., August 5-15, 1658, Nicholas to Charles.

further progress was arrested by the intervention of the States-general.[1]

To this period probably belongs the story told by Carte of the King's secret visit to the Hague. It is alleged that he arrived there at six o'clock on a certain morning attended only by Fleming, whom he at once sent to speak with the Princess. While he awaited his return at an obscure little inn he was unexpectedly visited by 'an old reverend-looking man, with a long grey beard and ordinary grey clothes,' who, having entered, locked the door behind him, threw off his disguise, and falling on his knees declared himself as the English Ambassador, Downing, come to seek pardon for past offences. This being graciously granted, he stated that the King's presence was already known, and that he would himself be forced to apply for his seizure in pursuance of a secret treaty between the States and Cromwell, but undertook to delay proceedings until Charles could get safely away.[2] Carte avers that this story was told by the King himself, after the Restoration, but, whether it be true or not, it is certain that Downing was kept posted as to his movements by Killigrew, and that, at this very time, he presented a memorial to the States, representing the presence of Charles and his 'servants' on Dutch soil, as a breach of the treaty with England, and a serious menace to the life of the English Ambassador.[3] In consequence of this Hyde was obliged to quit Breda, and Charles himself returned to Hoogstraeten, which now possessed for him a strong attraction in the near neighbourhood of the Dowager Princess of Orange with her two unmarried daughters, Henriette and Marie. The elder daughter, Henriette, had been betrothed in her infancy to Prince William of East Friesland, but, on arriving at marriageable age, had conceived a violent

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, vii. pp. 361, 428.

[2] *Carte MSS.*, cxxx. Paper in Carte's hand. No date.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, vii. pp. 362, 419, 428; *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. ff. 211, 250, 252; *Carte MSS.*, ccxiii. p. 126, September 10, 1658.

dislike of her fiancé and absolutely refused to fulfil her engagement.[1] Whether Charles had anything to do with her aversion to her betrothed is unknown, but when, at this period, he fell violently in love with her, she made it no secret that she reciprocated the attachment. The Dowager refused to sanction an engagement, for which the consent of the States was necessary, but she allowed them to meet frequently throughout the autumn, and in September there occurred an event which appeared, for the moment, calculated to remove all barriers between the King and the lady of his choice. This event was the death of Cromwell, which took place on September 3-13, while Charles was at Amsterdam, but the news did not reach the Continent till three days later, when James learned it by chance from a Dunkirk trumpeter. He at once forwarded the intelligence to Brussels, with a request for leave to join his brother, and, on the arrival of De Marchin to take over his charge, he followed his messenger to the capital. Thence Fox had already flown to Hoogstraeten, where he found the King at tennis, and then and there broke to him the fateful news.[2]

Charles's first act was to make a formal proposal for the hand of the Princess Henriette, who fell ill with emotion on receipt of his letter. On Friday, September 20, he held counsel with his brothers and the Chancellor at Antwerp; on the next day he proceeded to Turnhout, the summer palace of the Princess Dowager, where he was kindly received, and allowed to assume that his addresses were accepted, and on Monday, September 23, he returned to Brussels.[3]

James and Henry had meanwhile visited their sister at

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. pp. 231, 357, 388, 410.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii., September 8-18, 1658, Nicholas to Hyde; lviii. fol. 224; *Memoirs of Stephen Fox.*

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. fol. 254, September 11, 1658; Nicholas to Hyde, September 16, 1658; Ormonde to Hyde, September 19, 1658; Belling to Hyde, fol. 330; *Thurloe Papers*, vii. pp. 419, 444, 468; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 155.

the Hague. Arriving there late on the night of Sunday, September 22, they found her already gone to bed, but were admitted to her room, and sat talking with her till dawn, when they departed as hastily as they had come. James then resumed his command at Nieuport, where he had the good fortune to intercept the first instructions and despatches sent by the new Protector to his ambassadors in France and Holland, which he duly forwarded to Don Juan. In October he again visited the Hague, but Mary, terrified by his rashness, despatched him forthwith to Delftshaven, and, following hastily, carried him off to Breda, where she passed the winter with her two younger brothers.[1]

They had now little to fear from the States, for the Dutch, always hostile at heart to the English Protector, had received the news of his death with undisguised delight.

'As for this town they are mad with joy,' reported Culpepper from Amsterdam, on September 20. 'No man is at leisure to buy or sell, the young fry dance in the streets at noonday; "the divell is dead" is the language at every turn; and the entertainment of the graver sort is only to contemplate the happy days now approaching.'[2]

In France the rejoicing was less open, but not less sincere. The nobles hastened to congratulate the Queen, the Cardinal himself visited her, and, though his attitude was still reserved, he hinted that his engagements with 'the dead monster' would soon expire, and that there would be some 'looking about' before a new treaty was made with England.[3]

1658 October

From Madrid Bennett reported the joy to be as great as it could have been amongst the King's own subjects, and expressed confidence that it would offer 'faire

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, vii. pp. 398, 410; Green's *Princesses*, vi. p. 273.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. fol. 345; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 412, September 20, 1658.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. ff. 352, 379; lix. ff. 40, 112.

occasions of returning home.' But in November he learned that the Spanish Ministers had been assured from Flanders that it would be useless to restore Charles since 'he and his whole house' were 'French' at heart.[1] Whether or no this were true it is certain that Charles obtained no help where he had most cause to look for it. Don Alonso stated frankly that he had no time to think of the King's affairs, and Charles's demand that his regiments should be drawn together, and money provided for an invasion of England, received only a 'fumbling' reply.[2] In December there arose a rumour that Spain was secretly treating for peace with England, and when Bennett entered a protest he was heard without remark. As a last resource, he entreated Charles to win over Alonso by looking 'a little favourably on Father Talbot,' who had gained his own confidence while in Madrid. But this advice merely produced a quarrel with Hyde who was not to be converted concerning the Talbots, and for months Bennett continued to write in the same strain, urging always the conciliation of Alonso, and the coming of the King, or at least of 'some considerable person' to Madrid. Weekly he solicited for money, and weekly he received promises which were weekly broken 'with customary ease,' until he was at last forced to admit that nothing could be hoped of Spain without some decided movement in England.[3] But England made no movement towards a Stuart restoration Mazarin remained her ally, the States renewed their treaty, and the bright prospects conjured up by the Protector's death faded rapidly away. Then the Princess Dowager, who had infuriated Mary by boasting of her daughter's brilliant future, retracted her consent to the

1658 November

December

November

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lix. ff. 6, 8, 46, 85, 152; October 2; 16, November 6, 1658.

[2] *Ibid.*, lviii. fol. 281, September 14, 1658; lix. ff. 147, 184, November 1, 20, 1658.

[3] *Ibid.*, lix. ff. 130, 186, 225, 269, 280; October, November 20, December 4, 18, 23, 1658.

marriage with Charles, and within a month the hapless Henriette was betrothed to the Prince of Anhalt.[1]

1658 August

It must be conceded to the Princess Dowager that Charles was not a desirable son-in-law. At the very time that he was paying court to Henriette his name was coupled with that of Beatrix de Cantecroix, mistress of the Duke of Lorraine, and though this was generally accounted 'an invention to defame her, and put her at a distance with Lorraine,' the King's reputation did not hang on the truth or untruth of a single scandal. His amours had become notorious, not in Flanders only, but in France and England, and on the 8th of August Hyde wrote to him from Breda.

'I received last night a very discreet and sad letter from my Lady Abbess, and in it a letter she received from London, concerning you, and with that mention of you and the spending your tyme that you may see some about you are very careful to give them such intelligence as is little to your advantage. I do not think fit to send it, but will keep it till I wayte on you, which, I suppose, will be the next week. I confess I heartily wish you, for some tyme, out of that town, and, if it were possible, out of the reach of the scandalous tongues there. . . . I pray you burne this letter, and God of Heaven preserve you, and rouse up your spirit to do what you ought yourself, and then you will make us all do as we ought.'[2]

The letter from London was immediately followed by another to the same effect from Paris, which reported a remark of Louis XIV., that 'the King of England should rather with tears seek to appease the wrath of God . . . than follow his amours at Brussels.'[3]

November

Yet it was, after all, rather his misfortunes than his faults that cost Charles his bride. Never before had his

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, vii. pp. 503, 518, November 22, 29, 1658; Green's *Princesses*, vi. pp. 274, 276; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 13.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. fol. 166, August 8, 1658.

[3] *Ibid.*, lviii. fol. 172, August 9, 1658; *Thurloe*, vii. p. 325.

prospects appeared 'so hopeless, so desperate'; never had his poverty been more abject. The 'goodly ménage' which he had once enjoyed at Bruges no longer existed; his house at Brussels had been let to Count Egmont, from motives of 'thrift,' all that he possessed had been sold or pawned, and his silver plate had been replaced by pewter, from which he ate 'such things as he could get to eat.'[1] His so-called Court was filled by querulous, broken men, who quarrelled incessantly among themselves, and as incessantly reproached the King for his inability to relieve their wants. A dispute over a debt provoked a duel between Taafe, Bynion, and Gilbert Talbot on the one side, and Hopton, Fleming, and Keith on the other, in which Fleming was dangerously wounded, and Sir William Keith 'had the ill-fortune of being killed.' Shortly afterwards Captain Armstrong perished in like fashion, and Lord Newburgh was so severely wounded by one of his own captains that his life was despaired of. Charles endeavoured to obviate the growing evil by issuing strict orders against duelling, and banishing offenders from his presence, but to remove the causes of quarrel was out of his power. Even his favourite Wyndhams and Elliots appealed for help in vain, from which they concluded that he had 'not the least good nature left,' and in December Tom Elliot wrote despondently: 'I believe never people had more need of an alteration than we, for there is a necessity that if we continue a little longer as we are we must perish, the Spaniard not having paid ye King one penny this four months, nor any probability that he will.'[2]

James and Henry were not in much better case than their elder brother, but they were at least able to avail themselves of the hospitality of their sister, from which he was debarred. Throughout the winter they dwelt 1658| December

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 13; *Thurloe*, vii. p. 558: *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. fol. 254, September 11, 1658 and September 16, 1658, Nicholas to Hyde.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. ff. 181, 183, 196; lix. ff. 236, 237; *Thurloe*, vii. pp. 337, 353, 361.

unmolested at Breda, and in the spring they were even suffered to visit the Hague with impunity, notwithstanding Downing's remonstrance.[1] Their prolonged separation from the King was noted with concern by many of his adherents, who observed that 'their so oft and long absences give occasions to friends to suspect discontents and to enemies to speak it publicly.' And though Hyde protested that the separation was matter of sheer necessity, his correspondents remained unconvinced.[2] Their suspicions were not, indeed, ill-founded, for the sympathies of the younger brothers were with Mary rather than with Charles, who had put the last touch to his sister's resentment by seeking the alliance of her husband's detested relatives.

1658 January

The Dowager was careful to widen the breach by 'entertaining' the young Princess with all Charles's indiscreet 'complaints' concerning her, and Mary, in her turn, poured out her wrath to Lady Stanhope, asserting that her brother 'had ruined her fame; that if he were in his kingdom he could not make her satisfaction; that hereafter she would never have anything to do with him, what change soever should be in his or her fortune; that she was no more his subject, nor would be; that she was a free woman, and might marry, or have kindness for whom she pleased, without demanding anyboddy's leave; that she would not deny she was pleased with Harry Jermyn's love, and that she had a kindness for him.' And she concluded her tirade with a threat of returning to France, as soon as ever her son had been established at Leyden.[3]

It needed only this isolation from his family to complete the wretchedness of Charles's condition.

[1] *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvi. fol. 410.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lix. fol. 93; *French Papers*, R. O., Percy Church to Nicholas, January 14-24, 1659.

[3] *Rawlinson MSS.*, cxv., October 11, 1658, Mary to Heenvliet; *Clarendon MSS.*, lx. fol. 517, May 20, 1659.

CHAPTER XIII

Calm Accession of Richard Cromwell—Disappointment of Royalists —Advice of Hyde and Culpepper—Policy of Mordaunt and Rumbold—Divisions in England—Dissolution of Parliament —Return of the Rump—Overtures to the King—Caution of Hyde—Banishment of Cavaliers—Desire for Action—Reply of the King—Scheme of Royalist Insurrection—Disappointment in Scotland and Ireland—Refusal of Lockhart to surrender Dunkirk—Overtures to Montague—Reply of Montague —Dissensions of Royalist Agents—Party for James in England —Treachery of Sir Richard Willys—Revelations of Morland —Difficulty of convincing Friends in England—Invitation to the King—Delay—Collapse of the Royalist Schemes—Precautions of Government—Recalcitrance of the Sealed Knot—Rising of Sir George Booth—Failure—Mutual Recriminations —Accusation and Defence of Willys.

THE death of the great Protector, long regarded by the Royalists as the one thing needed to end their troubles, did not, at first, alter their condition. On the 4-14th of September 1658 Richard Cromwell was declared his father's successor by the Council of State, and placidly accepted by army, navy, and nation; Foreign States renewed their alliances, and the exiled King was 'no more apprehended or talked of than if he were in the Indies.'[1] The delirious joy of his adherents was succeeded by deepest despair, to most it seemed that their final hope was blasted, and many, Bristol included, blamed the inaction of the King.[2] But, fortunately for himself, Charles possessed two councillors who were able to keep their heads, even at such a juncture, and were neither carried away by expectation nor unhinged by disappointment. Hyde's first word on the subject was a hope that

1658 September

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lx. fol. 97. [2] *Ibid.*, lviii. fol. 396; lx. fol. 57.

his master would 'not be prevayled with to do any sudden thing,' and Culpepper simultaneously expressed his opinion that it was impossible 'to act too silent a part.' One thing only he deemed certain—the brevity of Richard Cromwell's reign—and he therefore counselled Charles to free himself from the odium of the Spanish alliance by withdrawal to Clèves, and there to wait patiently until one of the contending parties called him home to England. This he considered inevitable, if the Royalists could only refrain from 'hurting themselves upon projects,' and he concluded in a real spirit of prophecy:

'The person my eye is chiefly upon as able alone to restore the King, and not absolutely averse to it, neither in his principles nor in his affections, and that is as like to be unsatisfied with this choice as any other among them, is Monke, who commands, absolutely at his devotion, a better army, as I am informed, than there is in England. . . . He is a sullen man, that valews himself enough, and must believe that his knowledge and reputation in arms fit him for the title of Highness and office of Protector better than Henry Cromwell's skill in horse-races and husbandry. . . . The way to deal with him is, by some fit person . . . to show him plainly, and to give him all imaginable security for it, that he shall better fit all his ends, those of honour, power, profit, safety, with the King than in any other way he can take. Neither are we to boggle at any way he shall propose in declaring himself . . . so it oppose the present power, it will, at last, do the King's business, and, after a little time he will, and must, alone fall into the track we would have him to go in. When he is engaged past a retreat he will want you as much as you will want him, and you may mould him into what form you please.'[1]

This sapient letter was destined to bear much fruit, and as early as the following December Sir John Grenvile

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. ff. 242, 345; lix. fol. 54; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 412, September 10-20, 1658, October 11, 1658.

was authorised to open communication with Monk,[1] but it was many months before he was able to execute his commission, and in the meantime the Chancellor found it no easy task to guide and control the Royalists at home. To them his instructions were firm and precise. They were to await with patience the disintegration of their enemies, to attempt no rising until other parties moved, and then to join, if necessary, with such as were least opposed to the King. In the interim they were to endeavour the election of Royalists to the next Parliament, to hinder grants of money to the Government, to foment a war with the Dutch, and generally to increase internal distractions.[2] This policy had the support of Rumbold and Mordaunt, who, of their own accord, forwarded very similar proposals to Brussels immediately after Cromwell's death. A little later Mordaunt informed Ormonde:

'The election of fit members is now our chiefest care, for unless they (*i.e.* the enemy) divide they keep their interest. All sorts of discording seedes are sowne, and I doubt not, though they seemed deade, but they have taken deep root, and we shall see a confused harvest.'[3]

1659 January 27th-February 6th February-March

When the new Protector was forced to meet his Parliament on the 27th of January, it became evident that the seeds of discord had not been sown in vain.

Between the Commonwealth party of Bradshaw, Vane, and Haselrigg, and the Protectorate party of Thurloe, St. John, and Pierpoint disputes ran high, and the adhesion of the Royalists gave the majority to the former. The question was asked openly, 'If a single person why not the King?' It was said in the Lobby, 'yt Charles Stewart had more friends in ye House than ye Protector,' Haselrigg reminded his colleagues 'that there was a King before a Parliament, but a Parliament before a

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lix. fol. 278, December 20, 1658.

[2] *Ibid.*, lix. fol. 19, October 4, 1658; lx. fol. 16, February 18, 1659; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 424.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lviii. fol. 338; lix. fol. 234; lx. fol. 98; *Carte MSS.*, ccxiii. ff. 174, 206.

Protector,' and the acts of both Richard and Oliver Cromwell were publicly disavowed. The sentences of the High Court of Justice were annulled, Lady Mary Hewitt was promised 'satisfaction' for the 'murder' of her husband, Overton and other prisoners were released 'in mere spite,' the case of those sold to Barbadoes was fiercely debated, and Vane declared hotly 'that he did not think to have lived to have seen the day when free-born Englishmen, by their own countrymen, were sold for slaves.'[1]

1659 April — Meanwhile the army remained unpaid, and, finding itself neglected, took the law into its own hands. On April 23 it forcibly dissolved the Protector's Parliament, on May 7 it restored the remnant of the Long Parliament; known thenceforth as 'the Rump'; on May 25 Richard May — Cromwell tendered his submission and retired into private life; in July Henry Cromwell resigned his command in Ireland, the Speaker, Lenthall, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of both army and navy, and England became again a Commonwealth.[2]

Amid the general chaos Vane perceived 'a kind of secret contest amongst the several factions,' as to which should 'first close with the King,' and to the watchful Royalists it appeared that any party might, at any moment, cast themselves upon his mercy. In March the March — Levellers sent over propositions which would have reduced the Sovereign to the position of an elective President; the Presbyterians, whose alliance was especially valuable from the monetary point of view, showed a disposition to treat on the old basis of the Isle of Wight articles, and overtures were half expected from Richard Cromwell himself. Some urged Charles to accept restoration on any terms in the hope that his own 'sweetness of disposition and temper' would ultimately prevail to remove irksome restrictions; but with such phrases had he been

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lx. ff. 97, 98, 119, 142, 153, 216, 219, 223, 224, 248, February 20, 23, 28, March 7, 28, April 4, 1658, N.S.

[2] *Clarke Papers*, iv. pp. 17-22.

beguiled by the Scots at Breda, and he was not to be so entrapped a second time.[1] Instead he listened to the wise counsels of his Chancellor, and, while authorising his agents to treat with such persons and parties as seemed fit, strictly forbade them to make any general promises, particularly in relation to sequestered lands, whether of Church, Crown, or private persons.[2] This caution enhanced the difficulty of gaining converts among men whose anxiety for life and estate was such that Broderick averred 'to secure them a guardian angell sent from Heaven to each, and those angells visible, were not protection enough against their feares.'[3] And these fears were increased by the imprudence of the returned exiles and other Cavaliers, who now flocked to London, and, 'in their cups' did 'mischief enough with their tongues.' Thurloe's first motion for their banishment was received with scorn by his opponents; but before the end of April the edict had been issued, and the Court at Brussels was, as usual, accused of their betrayal.[4] Hyde defended himself and his colleagues strenuously, assuring his correspondents that the business of England was communicated to no one but the King, Nicholas, and himself, and that no messenger was ever intrusted with secrets other than those of the persons who employed him. In effect the mischief was done by the messengers themselves, who, in their journeys across the Channel, held 'strange communication together,' and thus made 'common talk in London' of matters which the ministers at Brussels 'whispered' only to each other.[5] In conclusion, Hyde repeated his adjuration that no one should 'gratify Thurloe with a plot,' and the Sealed Knot

1659 April

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lix. pp. 255, 417, December 1658, January 1659; lx. ff. 98, 201, 223, 242, 463, 466, 563, February 20, March 16, 18, April 3, May 12, 20, 1659; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 489, 492, June 26, 27, 1659.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lx. fol. 178, March 11, 1659.

[3] *Ibid.*, lxi. fol. 11, $\frac{\text{June 2,}}{\text{May 23,}}$ 1659.

[4] *Ibid.*, lx. ff. 277, 354, 395, 416; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 456-458, April 1-11, 13-23, 19-29, April 22-May 2, 1659.

[5] *Clarendon MSS.*, lx. ff. 162, 298; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 531, March 10, July 3, 1659.

1659 May endorsed his opinion that it would be well 'to sit still and make no noyse.' But Rumbold and others urged, on the contrary, that the King's presence now would be worth ten thousand men, and even Mordaunt thought that 'a faire opportunity' had been lost, on the fall of the Protector. Further delay would, he feared, cause much discouragement, and he therefore asked the King's pleasure as to whether a rising should be arranged.[1] Charles's reply was indecisive. He was, he said, unable to judge of the situation from a distance, and must leave it entirely to the discretion of his friends to take up arms or not, and to declare for the Crown, or for 'public liberty' as they saw fit. He added that nothing could be expected of Spain until a port had been secured, but that the successful accomplishment of this would bind, not only Spain, but also France and Holland to his interest. He himself was ready to come over with 2000 men, notwithstanding the close watch kept on his ships at Ostend.[2] Thus he repeated the mistake made in 1655 of neither commanding nor forbidding the rising, and the history of 1659 is, in many respects, that of 1655 re-enacted. There are the same plans for securing the same towns and districts, the same promises made by the same people, the same contentions between the Sealed Knot and Mordaunt's more enterprising following, the same mutual distrust, vacillation, and treachery.[3]

May-June Impelled by the insistence of Mordaunt, the members of the Sealed Knot embraced the project under protest, and with their co-operation an elaborate scheme was laid. The first consideration was to secure a port at which the King could land his troops, and Lynn was chosen for the purpose, on account of its proximity to that useful place of refuge, the Isle of Ely. The capture of this port and the management of Lincolnshire and Norfolk were

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lx. ff. 413, 437, 450, 456, 463, 466, 475, 553, 560; lxi. fol. 14, April 29, May 2, 4, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 23, 1659, N. S.

[2] *Ibid.*, lx. p. 48; lxi. pp. 27, 42, May 11, June 4, 5, 1659, N. S.

[3] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report 10, Appendix vi. pp. 188-216.

intrusted to Lord Willoughby of Parham and Sir Horatio Townshend; Lord Howard, Lord Bellasys, Sir William Compton and Sir Richard Willys undertook the northern counties, of which Yorkshire was the least prepared; Lancashire and Cheshire were committed to the Presbyterian, Sir George Booth; and the Lords Oxford, Northampton, Manchester, Falkland, and others promised assistance in the Midlands. Lord Lovelace hoped to gain Windsor Castle, Major-General Browne, who had received a letter from the King with much protestation of loyalty, undertook to seize the city of London; Mordaunt made himself responsible for Sussex and Surrey, and the securing of Sandwich and of Kent generally was confided to Sir Thomas Peyton, Sir Anthony Eger, and Sir John Boys. Anthony Ashley Cooper made promises for Dorset, which were, however, little valued, Sir John Grenvile engaged for Devon and Cornwall, Titus bestowed his energies on South Wales, and Massey laboured diligently for the seizure of Bristol and Gloucester. It was hoped that Popham would exert himself in the gaining of Bristol, but he declined to move until that town had been actually secured or the King landed with 500 men. On either of those conditions he promised to mortgage his estate, raise 20,000 men, and seize upon Taunton and Bridgwater.

'But,' it was added, 'all men so gape after the King coming, that without him he cannot promise himself the doing any great matter.' The Marquis of Hertford, chosen commander-in-chief, 'humbly accepted the trust,' and Sir William Waller, proposed as his lieutenant-general, received the King's instructions with enthusiasm, kissing the paper, and exclaiming:

'Let him be damned that serves not this Prince with all integrity and diligence.'[1]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lx. ff. 262, 265, 270, 479, 537; lxi. ff. 11, 83, 156, 204, 266, 284, April 10, 11, May 4, 16, 19, 23, June 6, 20, 26, July 1, 1659, N.S.; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 489, 490, 499, 505, 509-511; *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvi. fol. 376.

1659 July — The expectation of finding 'a door' in Ireland or Scotland was dashed by the 'low submission' of Henry Cromwell and Monk to the Rump, and Lockhart firmly resisted all Middleton's persuasions to surrender Dunkirk to the King, but there appeared reasonable ground of hope that Admiral Montague might prove more amenable.[1] Personally devoted to the House of Cromwell, Montague had made his submission to the new government so plainly *contre cœur* that it was thought well to keep him at a distance, and for this reason he was joined with the plenipotentiaries, sent to mediate between Denmark and Sweden, and placed in command of the fleet that conducted them to the Sound. To the Sound Charles then sent Sir Thomas Whetstone, charged with private offers to the men and officers of the fleet, and with overtures to be made to the Admiral through his cousin, Edward Montague. But the Admiral disliked the choice of messenger, who alarmed him by showing himself freely in the streets of Copenhagen, and, though he consented to receive Charles's letter, he refused to intrust Whetstone with any reply. He was next visited by his relative, Charles Hatton, to whom he admitted that the King 'should not want servants in the fleet when opportunity occurred,' and on August 6 he wrote to assure Hyde of his readiness to embrace the royal cause. In pursuance of these promises he hastened his fleet homeward on the outbreak of the subsequent rising, but arrived in the Channel too late to be of service, whereupon he excused his conduct to the Rump as best he could, resigned his commission, and retired into the country.[2]

August

September 14th

May-July — The collapse of the insurrection was due to the usual causes, and chiefly to the lack of unanimity among its

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lx. ff. 241, 499, 553, 560; lxi. ff. 5, 7, 19, 76, 87, 126*a*, 232, 314*a*, March 23, May 16, 19, June 2, 20, 23, 27, July 3; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 500; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 173.

[2] *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 202, 211; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. pp. 153-158; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 493; *Clarendon MSS.*, lx. ff. 499, 560; lxi. ff. 162, 276, 280, 291; lxii. fol. 114, July 25, 29, 1659; lxiii. August 6, 1659, Montague to Hyde.

devisors. Browne and Waller refused to trust Titus, Lord Winchelsea claimed to command Kent, contrary to the wishes of that county, and Lord Oxford objected to receive his instructions from Mordaunt. He was not alone in his grievance; many and bitter were the murmurs against the King's exclusive confidence in Mordaunt, and the consequent 'vanity and insolence' of that favoured agent, who retorted with the assertion that the 'humours' of his comrades were 'as inconstant as the ayre,' and that Rumbold and Andrew Newport alone were helpful to him. In particular he censured the coldness and caution of the 'Knot,' and lamented the paramount influence therein exercised by Sir Richard Willys and his friend, Sir Allan Broderick, whom he described as 'indiscreet, vain, and sadly given to drink.' Rumbold added his indictment against Broderick as a person 'not fit to be trusted,' Broderick resented the aspersions on his character, and it fell, as usual, to the Chancellor's lot to soothe all injured feelings.[1]

Not less harassing than the dissensions of the King's own agents were the machinations of those who sought to exalt the Duke of York at the expense of his brother. Prominent among these were two of the Talbots, and as early as February, Cooper wrote to Hyde: 1659 February-May

'Father Talbot—I mean Tom—is as conversant with Secretary Thurloe as he pleases. His great work is to magnify the Duke of York and persuade that there is a difference betwixt him and his brother. . . . Hee that does the most harm in his power, next to Talbot, is one that pretends to rectify the mistake, which he makes more public, by inquiry of every man he meets whether he does not hear such a discourse, and this is Herbert Price. But I thank God, notwithstanding all their malice and little wicked arts, there is no difference believed to be betwixt them but yt which is to ye King's advantage,

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lx. ff. 466, 560, May 2, 19, 1659; lxi. ff. 116, 264, June 6, 30, 1659; lxii. fol. 138, July 26, 1659; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 529, 586.

ye difference of their parts and of ye persons they employ.'[1]

A month later Tom Talbot had been reinforced by Peter, who came with a pass from the Levellers, and consorted chiefly with Wildman and Buckingham. These three pressed on James's interest by 'instilling into the people' that Charles was 'no perfect observer of his word,' and Buckingham, who had publicly disavowed the King's interest, proved especially 'malicious,' and wrought 'great prejudice' to his character. Lady Newport and Lady Herbert lent their assistance as 'trumpeters' of the Duke, emphasising their encomiums of his virtues by 'railing' at the King. Tuke endeavoured to convince the Roman Catholics that James was of their Communion, hinting that Charles would prove 'a persecutor' on attaining to power, and Fraser laboured in the same cause among 'the lower sort of Presbyterians and other ignorant people.' The general belief that the doctor was better acquainted with 'the King's mynd and boddy' than was any other person, gave him 'too much credit,' and, according to Lady Stanhope, he made unscrupulous use of his opportunities.

'His boddy,' she told O'Neil, 'he delivers to be consumptive, and that it is not possible he can live two years. Of his mynd he gives such a character as none else can give, it 's as foul as it 's false. I 'm sure, if it were true, he deserves to be hanged for telling it. . . . There is nothing neglected to defame ye King and cry up ye Duke of York.'

In May Broderick gave warning of 'a great importunity used to procure some publique invitation of the Duke of York hither,' and though he testified to the Royalists' 'just resentment of the injuries' done to the King, and Peter Talbot indignantly repudiated the charges against himself as too 'contrary to the principles of honesty and good manners' to be credited by any one acquainted with his 'conversation and education,' the intrigue seemed in

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lx. p. 119, February 13-23, 16-26, 1659.

a fair way to prosper with Levellers, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics. All three were united by a common fear of the Chancellor, who, it was said, would 'never suffer ye King to come in but by conquest made by the old Church of England party or foreigners.' Whether by Peter Talbot, or others, the mischief was done, and Charles's friends could only combat it to the best of their ability by taking 'all occasions of disabusing the world concerning the King's person.'[1]

All these troubles and intrigues, serious enough in themselves, were reduced to comparative insignificance in June by the revelation of Sir Richard Willys's treachery. 'A gentleman very well bred, of very good parts, and a courage eminently known,' he had fought with distinction on the King's side throughout the Civil War, and had been intrusted with the governorship of Newark by Charles I. Subsequently he had become a member of the Sealed Knot, in which a fluent tongue, and a 'crafty' mind, quickly won him the predominence, and he had of course been conversant with all details of the Royalist rising of 1655.[2] On the failure of that rising he was arrested among other Cavaliers, but was subsequently released and permitted to go beyond seas, on pledging himself to act nothing against the existing Government.[3] By May of the following year he was again in England, whence he began to address complaints to the Chancellor of his evident fall in the King's esteem, and though these complaints were always answered with fervid assurances of affection and gratitude, he appears to have succumbed to either pique or poverty.[4] In August 1656 he wrote to Thurloe desiring an interview, and offering important

1659 June

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lx. ff. 219, 223, 270, 402, 509, 517, 553, 563, March 18, 21, April 11, May 7, 16, 20, 30, 1659; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 457, 462; *Carte MSS.*, ccxiii. fol. 264, July 2, 1659.

[2] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 29; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiv. fol. 558; *Dom. State Papers*, xcviii. fol. 43.

[3] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 333, December 21, 1655.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, li. fol. 275, May 1-11, 1656; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 144, July 3-13, 1656.

intelligence, and, the interview being accorded, he became thenceforth the purchased tool of the Protector.[1] With infinite care and caution, he revealed and thwarted all Royalist plots, while declining to sacrifice Royalist lives,[2] and continuing all the time protestations of devotion to the King. As late as May 1659 Hyde begged Rumbold to furnish him with £100 from the Royalist funds, in pity for his poverty, and at the same time commended him to Mordaunt, as an excellent officer 'of a very good understanding.' Mordaunt, though aware that Willys was no friend to him, and often vexed by his obstructionist policy, was so far from doubting his loyalty that he was ready to 'put his life into his hand,' and the traitor remained absolutely unsuspected until betrayed in his turn by one of his new allies.[3] His betrayer was Samuel Morland, who, as under-secretary in the Secret Intelligence Department, was acquainted with many of those who gave information to the Government, and actually had Willys's letters to Thurloe in his own keeping. On the fall of the Protectorate Morland bethought him of making his peace with the King, and to this end sent to Brussels much important advice and information with promises of future service, and, as an earnest of goodwill, the names of several of Thurloe's spies, among others, those of Tom Howard and Richard Willys.[4]

1659 July So severe was the shock to Charles that he was fain to believe this intelligence some ruse designed by his foes to shake his confidence in his best friends. Yet the accompanying information was so important and so obviously for his service that it was impossible to doubt the writer's good faith. He therefore made answer that Tom Howard's proceedings concerned him very little, since he knew 'no more than those that walk in the

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, v. pp. 594-595, 653, 657, 667.

[2] See p. 154; *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 370.

[3] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. pp. 28-32; *Clarendon MSS.*, lvii. fol. 208, March 6, 1658; lx. fol. 437, May 9, 1659.

[4] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 28; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxi. June 6, July 8, 1659.

streets,' and expressed a hope that 'some knave' had impersonated Willys for his own ends. 'For,' he added, 'he knows most of my friends and is trusted by them as farre as he will, and is generally believed to be so reserved that, if he be false, he may do what mischief he pleases. Nor know I how to prevent it, there being few men more generally believed to be honest.'[1] Morland's response was to send over Henshaw,[2] with letters addressed by Willys during the months of May and June to the Secretary of State, and containing minute details of all the most cherished Royalist schemes. To these he added extracts from the correspondence of Tom Howard, and Langdale's scoutmaster, Corker, a copy of Downing's cipher with the Government, and a promise to keep the King constantly informed of all foreign negotiations, stipulating only for strict secrecy, failing which he was 'a dead man.'[3]

The letters, written in the familiar and peculiar caligraphy of Willys, and filled with matter of which few, besides himself, were cognisant, left no room for doubt of his guilt, yet proof of it could not be offered without implicating Morland, and without proof it was impossible to obtain credence for so strange a tale. Morland perceived the dilemma, and, fortified by the King's autograph promise of the Garter, and the continuance of his office, caused to be posted all over London a printed statement of Willys's misdoings, with the very names of the taverns in which he had been wont to meet Thurloe. This was regarded, naturally enough, as a 'scandalous libel' even by those who loved the accused least, and Charles was ultimately forced to summon Willys to Brussels on the plea of having things of great moment to discuss with him. Willys declined to obey the summons, and the King seized the occasion of his disobedience to prohibit

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxi. fol. 296, July 4, 1659.

[2] This is probably the foundation of Echard's story. See page 271.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxi. fol. 270*a*; lxiii. fol. 105, June 2, August 3-13, 1659.

his friends from holding further communication with him.[1]

He had already enjoyed the opportunity of explaining the situation to Mordaunt, who came over at the end of June to inform the King on the joint authority of himself, Northampton, Willoughby, Peyton, Boys and Newport, that all was now ready for the rising. Though considerably startled by the revelation concerning Willys, he remained in favour of immediate action, conditionally on Charles being willing 'to run the risk of his royal person.'[2] Without that he could guarantee nothing. The general cry was for the King, and though the more 'wary' desired him to bring, at the least, 500 men, many declared that they would be satisfied with himself 'in doublett and hose,' and Jack Russell vowed that if he 'came without a sword, he would attend him with his own.' An intense aversion from the landing of a foreign force on English soil was felt even by the exiles. Hyde protested that 'no man' thought of it 'more unwillingly' than he; Wentworth confessed himself 'so much an Englishman' as to wish his Sovereign 'to owe his restoration only to his own countrymen,' and Charles averred that this was 'a blessing' which he 'daily begged of God Almighty.'[3] The Chancellor snatched the opportunity to extol his master as 'the best Protestant and the best Englishman of the nation,' recounting at length the 'alacrity' with which he had embraced the English adventure, the 'ease' with which he dispensed with 'that security and advantage he might have promised himself in the army he might depend on from the two Crowns in the beginning of winter,' the 'tenderness' with which 'he

[1] *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvii. fol. 279; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 133; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 542; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxii. ff. 163, 536, July 6-16, 1659, Mordaunt and Titus to Hyde; July 19-29, 1659, Gibbs (Morland) to Charles.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 488-489, June 16-26, 1659; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxi., June 6-16, 1659, Mordaunt to Charles.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxi. ff. 197, 204, 262; lxi., June 6, 1659, Mordaunt to Charles; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 489-490, 514-515, 529.

mentioned the mischief that a foreign army would do to the kingdom, the reflexions he made on religion,' and the 'sense' he showed 'of the jeopardy of his friends, if the business should be deferred.' Charles did his best to justify this eulogy by promising to start for England on Monday, July 21, and, armed with this promise, and a letter confirming his own authority, Mordaunt hastened homeward.[1]

To his dire dismay he found, on arrival, 'a new world in England.' The few days of his absence had sufficed to undo his schemes. The members of the Knot were actually dispersing; some had already retired to the country, and all had failed to perform their promises. Booth represented that the submission of Ireland made movement on his part impossible; Howe, for some reason unexplained, withdrew from his engagement about Gloucester, and Popham's wife successfully barred all access to her husband.[2] In short, there was 'a ready argument in all prudent men's mouths against any present acting,' and on July 6-16 Mordaunt wrote to the King a letter which, he confessed, it 'went to his heart' to send.

'I must despatch this letter to you with a sad heart, sithence I look upon all as ruined to your present business. But the reverence which those you trust have for your person, to whom Mr. Rumbold hath committed your resolution, obligeth them humbly to represent to your Majesty, the slow, uncertain preparations of some here on whom you depend. Some miscarriage likewise hath happened which disturbs Mr. Popham. Henry Cromwell's base compliance likewise checks Sir George Booth, who apprehends his enemies from Ireland. These particulars, without more, prevail with Mr. Titus and myself to give you this advertisement before you leave Brussels. Some other fit person shall wait upon you at Calais, to

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxi. ff. 298, 340, July 3, 9, 1659; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 541.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxi. ff. 390, 393, July 6-16, 7-17, 1659.

give your Majesty a true and faithful account, at the day you shall first please to appoint, that you may not run an unnecessary danger at sea. And if, in the meantime, these gentlemen will clearly and frankly run your fortune and come to some determination and resolution of a day, either the person I send to Calais, or I myself, will come to Brussels with all imaginable diligence, and wait on you hither, there being nothing I desire more than to see a warre begun, being of opinion that it can last no longer than to make your Majesty appear as brave and wise a prince as ever ruled this unsteady people.'[1]

This letter was despatched by the hand of Hartgill Baron, who did not reach Calais until Sunday, July 20, and he had not been gone a day before Mordaunt had resumed his hopeful view of affairs. The army, restless and discontented, was vacillating between a Commonwealth and a Protectorate with Lambert at the head. The Rump, 'destitute of shipping, men, and money,' sat insecurely in the seat of Government; the navy, such as it was, could not put to sea for lack of funds; daily tumults disturbed the country, the people yearned for the King, rather out of hatred to the Rump than from love to the Stuarts, and Vane himself asserted that the Restoration was so generally desired as to be inevitable. In the circumstances the Royalist plotters received 'no prejudice' beyond the 'too fast' settlement of the militia, the desire for action returned, and Mordaunt declared that if he dared to show himself among his friends he would be 'pulled in pieces to let them engage.'[2]

Yet the Knot hung back. The season of the year was, they said, ill-chosen, since the peasantry would certainly prefer harvesting at half-a-crown a day to fighting for nothing. Moreover, the state of preparation had been freely exaggerated 'out of gaiety of heart,' and finally

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxi. fol. 391, July 6-16, 1659.

[2] *Ibid.*, lxi. fol. 393; lxii. ff. 19, 25, 138; lxiii. fol. 45; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 528-529, July 16, 17, 18, 19, 26, August 3, 1659, N. S.

all was known to the Rump, which merely awaited the bursting of the storm in order to enrich itself by confiscations of property. For all these reasons they were opposed to action, but Mordaunt refused to be thwarted. At a council, held on July 21, to which the Knot, though invited, 'neither came nor sent,' Willoughby, Northampton, Newport, Peyton, Massey, Titus, and Mordaunt himself fixed upon August 1-11 as the date of the general rising, and hastily despatched a messenger to inform the King of their resolution, and to exhort him to act with such discretion that 'no flesh could know' the time or place of his landing.[1] Charles's reply, forbidding any movement without 'a general concurrence,' and promising to be at Boulogne or Calais on the first news of it, was not written until July 28,[2] and by that time there was abundant evidence that Morland and others, who had deprecated delay as dangerous, had done so with good reason.[3] The main lines of the plot had been revealed by Willys, and throughout the month of July the Government was inundated with information concerning local preparations, which were duly corroborated by their own officials. Wales was reported 'in a sad condition,' Chepstow was surrounded by 'desperate men' who had 'the hearts of all the Cavaliers,' at Aylesbury 'honest' people dared not remain in their houses for fear of the Royalists who had grown so 'high,' at Bristol, which was found to be 'most desperately malignant and disaffected,' a 'breaking forth of the Cavaliers' was daily apprehended, and a letter written at the end of July warned the Rump that Lord Oxford was awaiting in London the arrival of Halsall with orders from the King.[4]

It was plainly time for the Rump to take measures of self-preservation, and its methods were much the same as those formerly employed by the Protector. London, 1659 August

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxii. fol. 63, July 11-21, 1659.
[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 536, July 28, 1659.
[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, July 19-29, 1659, Gibbs (Morland) to Charles.
[4] *Ibid.*, lxii. fol. 151; lxiii. ff. 101, 111, 113, 119.

Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, and Berkshire were hastily and firmly secured, and, so far as was possible, troops were distributed all over the country. Arms and horses were seized, and all persons to whom the faintest suspicion could attach were arrested.[1] In London numbers of apprentices were taken into custody, many of whom made abject confession of all that they knew, and Browne, being called before the Parliament, effected a timely retreat. The absence of Browne ruined the design for the city, and though 'the meaner sort' still voiced the general discontent, they did no more than murmur.[2]

'Such a poor spirit possesses almost all this nation that they will rather quietly submit themselves to slavery than offer any resistance to those that have but an appearance of power, be it never so inconsiderable,' lamented Charles Hatton.'[3]

As usual the Royalists had been paralysed by the loss of leaders. Bellasys had 'got into prison betimes,' most of the other lords had been arrested, those who remained at liberty, like Willoughby and Falconbridge, were obviously unwilling to fulfil their engagements, and the Knot proceeded to complete the general collapse 'with as great diligence, and better success than the enemy.'

On July 29-August 8, they sent out messengers in all directions to forbid the rising on the ground that the kingdom at large had 'deserted the engagement'; their efforts were seconded by storms of cold high wind and heavy rain, and in the event only small, isolated bodies of Royalists gathered together, which were easily and speedily dispersed.

'In short, Sir,' wrote Mordaunt wrathfully, 'nobody

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxii. fol. 223; lxiii. ff. 10, 12, 15, 20, 24, 31, 45 and *passim*; lxiv. fol. 250; *French Papers*, August 8-18, 1659, Deane to Lockhart; *Clarke Papers*, iv. pp. 28-32; *Cal. Domestic State Papers*, pp. 77, 81, 83, 84.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiii. ff. 43, 62, 193, 293.

[3] *Ibid.*, lxiii. fol. 201, August 13, 1659.

rose according to honour given and taken but Massey, Charles Littleton, and myself.'[1]

The rising of these three was of course worse than useless. Mordaunt found his place of rendezvous betrayed, and already filled with Government troops, and Massey was arrested as he started on his expedition to Gloucester. On the same night he made his escape by adroitly falling from his horse with the trooper who held him, in a spot where trees and darkness favoured flight, but his plot was wrecked, and his fate remained unknown to his friends for seventeen days.[2]

As in 1655 one district rose alone, to find itself deserted by the rest of the country, and this time Cheshire and Lancashire played the part played four years earlier by Somerset and Wiltshire. On one point information had failed the Government, and of Sir George Booth, as leader in Cheshire, it had 'never dreamt.'[3] He was a Presbyterian, who had sat in the Long Parliament and fought on that side in the Civil War, but had subsequently become discontented, and joined the 'new Royalists.' Though trusted in the plot of 1655, he had then failed to move, but this time his preparations were extensive, and his distance from headquarters left him ignorant of the general failure. Only on Sunday, July 31-August 8, did he receive certain warnings, supposed to come from Willys, but though these saddened and discouraged him, they did not convince him that all was lost. It was the unanimous opinion of his friends that salvation lay in action only, and on the next day, Monday, August 1-11, he met Lord Derby, Colonel Randal Egerton, and others at the rendezvous near Chester and seized upon that city with a force of 4000 men. They were there

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 555; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 194; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiii. ff. 156, 229, 293; lxiv. fol. 558; lxv. fol. 273; *Memoirs of James II.*, i. p. 371.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiii. fol. 156; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 37; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 216; *Clarke Papers*, iv. pp. 33-37; *French Papers*, August 8-18, 15-25, 1659, Thomson to Lockhart.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, August 5-15, 1659, Brasy to Hyde.

joined by Sir Thomas Middleton,[1] with a force from Wales, and then arose the first disagreement. Middleton wished to declare openly for the King, Booth insisted on declaring simply for a 'free Parliament, and the Laws and Liberties of England,' and the enterprise suffered, as all Royalist enterprises suffered, from the want of an authoritative leader whom all would obey. Booth's idea of a popular movement was to admit every one indiscriminately to the council of war, 'to please the gentry . . . as equally engaged in life and fortune,' and the result was confusion. Two grave errors were committed at the outset in the neglect to fortify the town, of which the walls were still good, or to seize the castle, the magazine of the district. After one summons to the governor to surrender, Booth made no serious effort to gain it, and spent the first ten days in sending out parties of horse to countenance and encourage the well-affected in the county. For more than a week the insurgents could not believe themselves forsaken by the rest of the nation, and the conviction was only borne in upon them on August 3-13, with the news that Lambert was actually marching against them. Panic and resentment seized them simultaneously. It was now too late to fortify Chester, and Middleton therefore retreated to Chirk Castle, while Booth, leaving 700 men to defend the city, marched off towards Nantwich. To all appearance he courted disaster. His forces were scattered, he had no intelligence of Lambert's movements, and when that experienced soldier overtook him, after an incredibly rapid march, he could not believe in his proximity. The brief skirmish that followed could hardly be called a battle. Booth drew up his men in some small fields, giving the command of the horse to Egerton, and of the foot to Broughton; but, by some fatal mistake, the ammunition had been left behind in Chester, and, in a few moments, the insurgents scattered and fled.

1659 August 9th-19th

'In short, Sir, 'twas never fought,' confessed Mordaunt.

[1] Governor of Chirk Castle, not the Scottish general of that name.

'The foot saved themselves in the enclosures, the horse trotted away—which is the civillest term.'

There was no more resistance, Lambert entered and took Chester, with men, horses, arms, and colours; Middleton surrendered Chirk Castle; Lord Derby was captured at Shrewsbury, and Booth, disguised as a woman, in an inn at Newport Pagnell.[1] The army had no more to do than 'to take all persons prisoners whose looks they did not like,'[2] and before the end of September the Government felt sufficiently secure to disband the militia, and release all those arrested on suspicion in the previous month.[3] 1659 September

The King's affairs appeared 'hopelesser' than ever, and he was warned to 'expect no more risings.' Langdale retired 'in a strange despair' to a monastery near Hildesheim; Titus declared himself heartbroken, and Mordaunt was reported in 'much affliction.'[4] Many ascribed the catastrophe to his 'vanity and ambitious mind,' while he had no hesitation in laying all on the 'villainy' of the Knot, and Sir Richard. Rumbold thought the misfortune due to 'pride and envy'; Hatton was of opinion that the fatal 'cross orders' had been produced by 'faction and infatuation,' and Cooper endeavoured to hold the balance even.

'To ascribe our great miscarriage here simply to any one cause, to any single accident, to the ill-conduct of the Council, as some say, to the precipitateness of Mr. Mordaunt as others say, or to the treachery of Willys as most say . . . is, I think, hard to maintain,' he wrote. And, while admitting that all three had probably contributed to the disaster, he adduced, as the primary cause

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiii. ff. 105, 133, 156, 193, 234; lxiv. ff. 13, 14, 15, 63, 69; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 194-200; *Carte MSS.*, xxx. fol. 498; *Clarke Papers*, iv. pp. 44-48; *French Papers*, August 15-25, 1659; *Cal. Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, cciv. p. 12.

[2] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 43.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, September 9-19, 1659, Samborne to Hyde.

[4] *Ibid.*, lxiii. fol. 171; lxiv. ff. 104, 174, 350; lxv. fol. 224; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 546.

of it, cowardice in the guise of prudence. But, in the universal desire to 'shift blame,' most were content to accept Willys as scape-goat, and on September 1-11 Mordaunt assured the Chancellor:

'Sir Richard Willys is now so odious I need say no more of him but that, for the future, he will be capable of doing little hurt.'[1]

Yet Willys was even then less innocuous than Mordaunt supposed, and the Chancellor found, to his sorrow, that there remained many persons unconvinced of his guilt. Some refused to attach to him any blame at all; others were ready to charge him with 'over-prudence,' though not with treachery; even Rumbold found the accusation hard to credit, and Broderick declared, on the 19th-29th of September, 'By all the reason I am owner of, I cannot be convinced.'[2] He was, at that time, in the Tower, a fate which he was popularly believed to owe to his treacherous friend, but, though many suspicious circumstances contributed to this theory, they failed to shake his faith, and he was still able to write to Hyde.

'Your next I tremble to think of lest it confirm the advertisements the King hath given of Willys's falsehood, upon whose faith I durst not only have staked all that was dear to me in this world, but, had it been possible, my very soul and hope of Heaven!'

And, in vindication of his friend's character, he added several curious details concerning his daily life.

'What I am bound in conscience to speak in his defence is this, that, to my certain knowledge, he hath, with great anxiety, laboured under very small debts, ever since we came together into England, being several times arrested and reduced to exigencies for petty sums, notwithstanding as much parsimony as any gentleman could use, save for the vanity of a few fine clothes, which were

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiii. fol. 293; lxiv. ff. 23, 104, 145, 174, 549; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 555, 574.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, Samborne to Hyde, September 17-27, 1659; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 564, 573, 584, 586.

managed with such dexterity in the first contrivance and frequent variation, beside that they were seldom on above four hours in the day, that it was a more thrifty ostentation than can be imagined by any who saw it not. To which his natural inclination and design for a wife did equally induce him, though judging his other expenses at the rate of that outward view made him thought by the old Protector and secretary a public agent maintained on the common stock. Yet had he no other attendant than one poor wretch, the most despicable creature that ever I saw, who, for eighteen pence a week, and a few scraps, performed the whole service of his person and chamber these last six years. And though he may be a pattern of frugality to all mankind, yet hath he the same slight debt he had at first, wearied from creditor to creditor, save that by degrees he hath paid off fifty pounds. The straitness of his confinement I know and all the assistance his friends have given him. Several months I have lain in the same lodgings. Several years I have daily eaten with him, yet have I never seen an unknown face, letter, or note in his chamber. The visits or meetings he received or made were never concealed from me; all his secret joys or griefs communicated.'

1659 October

These things testified to Willys's skill and circumspection, and afforded some explanation of—perhaps even excuse for—his conduct, but they could not acquit him of the fact, and Broderick submitted at last to the King's judgment, acknowledging the undisguisable and inimitable handwriting of his friend as infallible proof against him.[1]

Other members of the Knot long continued to 'stickle fiercely' for the character of Willys, whom they maintained to be 'a very fine gentleman, . . . extremely honest and brave beyond expression.'[2] Vainly did

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 562; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxv. fol. 123, September 29, October 27, 1659.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 584, 586; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxv. fol. 582, October 17, 1659.

Harry Fitz-James assert that he had the story of his treachery from 'Dick Cromwell' himself. Vainly did Hyde repeat his assurances that the King held proof sufficient to convict his own brother, and reiterate the royal command to abstain from evil communications. Oxford, Villiers, Compton, and Russell clung persistently to the traitor, and, at the end of November, actually sent to Brussels a demand for proof of the crime wherewith he was charged. Hyde, of necessity, withheld the proof, and the envoy took a civil leave of him. But, before he left, he successfully convinced Taafe, Berkeley, and several others of the injustice done to Willys, who was thenceforth 'magnified' by a faction which had never before given him a good word.[1] In December a rumour prevailed that Willys had declared openly for the Rump, and so become 'a lost person' among the Royalists, but, in the following spring, Villiers actually proposed that he should be intrusted with the business of winning Monk to the royal interest, and he continued to second Willys's frequent declarations of innocence and ceaseless attempts to justify himself, until after the Restoration.[2]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. ff. 226, 236; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 615; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 284-287.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvii. ff. 148, 358; lxix. fol. 52; lxx. ff. 66, 85; lxxi. ff. 61, 177; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 743.

CHAPTER XIV

Efforts of Charles to gain Help of France and Spain—His Need of Money—His Departure from Flanders—His Instructions to James and Henry—His Letter from Rouen—Offers of Condé —Opposition of Spanish Ministers—Embassy of Ormonde to the Palais Royal—Adventures of James at Calais—Generous Offer of Turenne — And of Count Schomberg — News of Booth's Defeat—Return of James to Brussels — Extreme Poverty of the Exiles in Flanders—De Marcés—Faction at Brussels—Fears for the Continuity of the Church—Proposal to consecrate New Bishops—Difficulties—The Church in France—in Flanders—Conversions to Rome—Attitude of James—Of the King—Defence of the King.

WHILE his friends were working on his behalf at home Charles was seeking support for his enterprise abroad. The fall of the Protectorate and recall of the Long Parliament, always hostile towards France, had shaken the French alliance with England, and he had now better hopes of gaining Mazarin than he had for long indulged. These hopes were fostered by his knowledge of the approaching treaty between France and Spain, and in May he offered new overtures to the French crown through the medium of the Palais Royal.[1] This revived the old rumour that the two great powers were about to restore him with a high hand. 'But you know,' wrote Inchiquin, 'they make stories good cheap, when there is anything to colour them.'[2] And in point of fact, though the Cardinal distrusted the Rump, he dared not break

1659 May

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lx. ff. 407, 458, May 2, 10, 1659.
[2] *Ibid.*, lx. fol. 510, May 18, 1659.

with it until he had concluded his peace with Spain.[1] Instead, he temporised, balancing his expressions of goodwill towards Charles with doubts of Charles's feeling towards himself, and instancing, as reason for them, the
1659 June King's friendship with De Retz.[2] Charles sent assurances that his dealings with the rival cardinal involved no prejudice to Mazarin, and, in reply to his mother's demand for confidence, offered to visit her if she could procure him a pass through France. The pass was granted and then revoked on some hitch in the treaty with Spain, yet
July Charles remained sufficiently hopeful to make a new representation of his case in July, intimating that a very small aid would suffice to restore him, and desiring that the governors of Calais and Boulogne might have secret orders to embark his troops.[3] Henrietta promised to do her best in the matter, though she greatly misdoubted the wisdom of the venture, and added to her promises the maternal entreaty: 'Je vous conjure d'avoir soin de vous.'[4] Jermyn continued entirely sceptical concerning the whole affair,[5] but Charles, who had already pledged himself to start, if summoned, on July 21,[6] continued his preparations unmoved by any opinion emanating from the Palais Royal. A declaration, offering pardon to all save regicides, was draughted by the Chancellor.[7] Hyde himself was instructed to remain at Brussels to answer letters, and receive and disburse contributions of money, unless his presence were required by the fleet in the Sound. James, who had previously received directions to land in England, at some place distant from that chosen by his brother, was now empowered to grant pardon and rewards to whom he pleased, always excepting regicides, though even they might be suffered to make

[1] *French Papers*, R. O., May 8-18, 1659, Inchiquin to Lady Dysart.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lx. fol. 493, May 16, 1659.
[3] *Ibid.*, lx. ff. 493, 557; lxi. ff. 43, 76, 237, 307; lxii. fol. 203; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 523, 528.
[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxi. fol. 358, July 10, 1659.
[5] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 523, July 11, 1659.
[6] See page 389.
[7] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxii. fol. 170, July 1659.

HENRY, LORD JERMYN, EARL OF ST. ALBANS.
From the engraving in the British Museum after the portrait by Lely.

good their escape in return for any great service rendered.[1] Finally Caracena was informed of the King's intention to depart with his 2000 men, and asked to furnish arms, quarters by the sea, and ships of transport, according to promise. But in spite of orders from Madrid to do all that was humanly possible for the English King, Caracena furnished nothing beyond vague promises.[2] Twenty thousand pounds were needed for arms and shipping, but no money was forthcoming, the Spanish pension was now fourteen months in arrears, and Charles found himself dependent on small sums collected in England, and periodically sent over by Dr. Barwick.[3] Mordaunt also contrived to contribute to the slender fund, but nothing could be raised adequate to the occasion, and Hyde complained that things of great moment were omitted weekly 'for want of very ordinary sums of money.'[4] The sum possessed by the King at this juncture was barely sufficient to convey him to Calais, yet he was on the point of setting out thither when he was stayed by Mordaunt's letter of July 16, warning him not to move without further notice.[5] This was followed almost immediately by the second letter of July 21, appointing August 11 as the day of action, and Charles thereupon retired to the country in the hope of quieting the rumours busy with the movements of himself and his brothers.

1659 August

'The King hath spent this week at Treveur [Trevuren], two leagues distant from hence, a house of the King of Spain, but he hath been here every other day,' wrote Hyde to his French friend, De Marcés, on August 9. 'This night he will be here to spend to-morrow in his devotions, and then return thither, where he hath the divertissements of hawking and hunting . . . The two Dukes are not yet

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxii. fol. 30 A; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 529, July 19, 1659.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxii. ff. 125, 201.

[3] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 498, 523; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Nicholas to De Marcés, July 23-August 2, 6-16. See also *Clarendon MSS.* and *Thurloe Papers*, vii.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lx. fol. 237; lxii. fol. 63.

[5] *Ibid.*, lxii. ff. 55, 56; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 534.

come from Holland, but they may return this night.'[1] Five days later, at four o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, August 3-13, Charles left Brussels with Ormonde, O'Neil, and Titus, intending to cross to Kent from Calais, and the Dukes, hastily recalled from Holland, arrived the same night, to find their brother departed for a destination unknown. Much perturbed, they went to the house of Nicholas, where they found Hyde, Culpepper, and Langdale, and received the orders left by the King. These were for James to follow instantly to Calais, while Henry remained behind, to attend to affairs at Brussels.[2]

Delaying only long enough to assume a suitable disguise, James set forth with Langdale, Charles Berkeley, and a trumpeter, and, travelling all night without a halt, overtook his brother next day at Hazebrouck near St. Omer. There Charles delivered into the keeping of Berkeley a letter addressed by himself to the governor of Boulogne which would, he hoped, enable James to obtain a ship at that port, and, adding strict injunctions not to cross without further orders, he went on to Calais, leaving James to proceed to Boulogne as directed. At Calais he learned that Kent had not risen according to expectation and that only Lancashire and Cheshire were in arms. This decided him to attempt a landing in the west, and after visiting James at Boulogne, and authorising him to open letters, and act as seemed best on intelligence received,[3] he betook himself to Rouen, whence he wrote to Hyde:

1659 August 28th

'You will see by my compagnon's letter all that we know and the resolution I have taken. To-morrow we set forth, and do not dout, but by the help of God to get

[1] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Hyde to De Marcés, July 16-26, July 30-August 9, 1659.

[2] *Ibid.*, August 6-16, 1659, John Blake to Bodkin, August 6-16, 1659, Anon., August 6-16, 1659; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiii. fol. 124, August 15, 1659.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiii. fol. 123; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 35; *French Papers*, R. O., Bampfylde to Talbot, August 18-28, 1659; *James II.*, i. pp. 371-373.

to our friends with lesse hazard than is imaginable in such a voyage, for, upon the whole matter, I am very chearfull, and, though I am not altogether so plump, I begin to grow as sanguine as Mr. Skinner. . . . Sure never people went so chearfully to venter their neckes as we doe. We have passed hitherto without so much as being suspected who we are, and hope we shall get to our journey's end with the like good fortune. God keepe you.'

An accompanying letter from Bristol, who had rejoined his master in France, explained the changed situation, and the King's intention of sailing from Brest or St. Malo. At the same time Caracena, Condé, and De Marchin were each separately solicited to land an expedition at Sole or Orford—were it only of 500 men, in addition to the King's own troops—so soon as a diversion had been created in the west. Henry was bidden to use all his eloquence to gain their compliance, and, having done so, to accompany the expedition in person.[1]

De Marchin responded with eager professions of zeal to the service, and Condé put the whole of his army, some 10,000 men, at Charles's disposal. But, without ships of transport, the generous offer was unavailing, and the Spanish Ministers proved as obstructive as ever; they excluded Henry from their conference with the Chancellor, and uncompromisingly refused his request that the King's troops might be drawn down to the sea-coast, or suffered to march to St. Omer. In the circumstances the young Duke's only satisfaction was the maintenance of his personal dignity, and he seized an opportunity to snub Caracena.

'The Duke of Gloucester is here, and represents the person of a great Prince very well,' reported Taafe. 'Caracena sent him word he would be with him by five last Thursday, but, being a quarter of an hour late, the Duke stayed not for him. This is commended, even by the Spaniard.'[2]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiii. ff. 237, 240, August 28, 1659.

[2] *Ibid.*, lxiv. ff. 84, 163; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 538; *French Papers*, R. O., Taafe to Inchiquin, August 13-23, 1659; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 219; *James II.*, i. p. 379.

In the meantime Charles was making a last bid for French help, wherein he met with no better success than was encountered by his young brother in Flanders. From Rouen he had sent Ormonde to Walter Montague at Pontoise, instructed to point out that the moment for making good the French promises was now arrived. But to all Ormonde's arguments Montague replied only that Mazarin would not break with the Parliament unless certified that by so doing he could turn the balance in the King's favour. He added also that the absence of the Court in the south of France made it probable that the issue would be decided in England before any appeal could reach it.[1] With this cold comfort Ormonde proceeded to Paris, where he found a more sanguine spirit prevalent. An attempt made by Spain to substitute the younger infanta for the elder as the bride of Louis XIV. threatened to break the treaty, and it was the confident belief of the Palais Royal that, if this came to pass, Louis would take to wife the little Henriette.[2] Yet the Queen's reception of her son's message concerning the 'seasonableness' of the promised succours was not very gracious, as she observed in reply 'that if the King had thought fit to have trusted her in time she had reason to believe he had now been in England, but that not having that part in his trust she durst not venture in the dark to meddle with his business.' In a strange lapse from his wonted courtesy Ormonde retorted 'that if she had never been trusted, she had never been out of England,' and there seemed danger of a serious altercation. But Jermyn, who was really anxious for reconciliation, hastened to smooth matters over, promised to procure a French frigate for Charles's use, and took care that his envoy should be well treated.

'I am, for my particular, exceedingly civilly used, and

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiii. fol. 249; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 547, August 29, 1659.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, xiii. fol. 172; *French Papers*, R. O., Inchiquin to Lady Dysart, August 10-20, 1659.

had much ado to defend myself from being, in this woefull equipage, lodged in the Palais Royal, and Lord Jermyn seemed much unsatisfied with the Queen saying anything like a reproach, or the ripping up of old unkindnesses,' confessed Ormonde, on August 29. 'One thing he puts me in hope of which, if it hold, as I doubt it will not, is alone worth a longer journey, and that is that he can help us with a French frigate of 36 guns to carry us whither we will.'[1]

Doubt so far prevailed over hope that Ormonde despatched to Spain a request for ships to be sent to Brest, before rejoining the King on September 3 at St. Malo. There, owing to the anticipated delay in procuring the promised vessel, they remained until September 6, when their hopes were dashed, and their plans changed by the fatal news of Booth's defeat. Charles did not hesitate as to his course of action. Disregarding his mother's entreaties that he would remain near her, and Jermyn's assurances of 'the zeale and passion' felt for him at the Palais Royal, he turned his steps southward to the Pyrenees, and so was lost for many weeks to the sight and knowledge of his faithful subjects.[2] 1659 September

After parting from Charles James had thought to take his place at Calais, but soon discovered that port to be no safe refuge. The number of Cavaliers there assembled had already excited uneasiness in the Lieutenant-Governor, and, on the recognition of the Duke by a Huguenot officer, a search was instituted which resulted in the arrest of Lord Derby's brother, Edward Stanley. James was saved from a like fate by the timely warning of Titus, who met him as he was on his way to a house actually under supervision, and enabled him to conceal himself in Langdale's lodgings. When dusk had fallen he ventured

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 548; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiv. fol. 84; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 187-190, August 29, September 6, 1659; *French Papers*, August 21-31, 1659.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiv. pp. 215, 275; *Carte MSS.*, ccxiii. fol. 285, September, 9, 19, 24, 1659; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 188, 191.

back to his own inn, but his troubles were not ended, and at midnight he was suddenly aroused by 'a great knocking and bouncing' at the door, followed by the entrance of soldiers. For a few moments he gave himself up for lost, and, though the soldiers' errand proved to be the friendly one of escorting home the master of the house, in an intoxicated condition, he thought it well to lose no time in returning to Boulogne.[1]

There he found Captain Thomas Cook distractedly seeking the King with news that Turenne urgently desired speech of him,[2] and, after a vain search for Charles at Rouen and Abbeville, he went gladly to meet his old friend at Amiens. Turenne's business was to make him a most generous offer of assistance, consisting of his own regiment of foot and other troops, to the number of about 5000 men, with means of transport, provisions for the whole body, arms for 3000 and six field-pieces. In addition to this he provided James with letters from himself and D'Aumont, the respective governors of Boulogne and Calais, commanding their lieutenants to furnish all the ships and boats available, promised to procure passes for Charles's troops to march through France, and volunteered to use all his credit and pawn his own plate to raise money for the enterprise. As all this was totally unauthorised by his government he proposed to give out that his men, who were already drawn down to Montreuil and Abbeville, had deserted to James. Others of his comrades, and notably Count Schomberg, offered their regiments conditionally on obtaining connivance of the Cardinal, and strenuous efforts were made to win over the English officers at Dunkirk. James, overwhelmed with joy and gratitude, resolved to land at Rye, and either fortify that place or march on to Maidstone and Rochester, according to the disposition of the country, and he was on the point of embarking with Turenne's nephews, the Duc de Bouillon

[1] *James II.*, i. p. 375; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiv. fol. 5.
[2] *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 186, 192, August 27, 1659, September 2, 1659.

and the Comte d'Auvergne, when he received the news of Booth's defeat and capture.[1]

In a panic that his brother had already crossed, he would still have followed to the rescue, and his design was encouraged by Massey, who arrived at this juncture from England in the garb of a Dutch skipper. But Turenne interposed with counsels of prudence, soothed James with assurances that the King must be still on the Continent, and practically forbade him to throw away his own life and those of his men on a useless enterprise. The young Duke yielded reluctantly to the wisdom of his former commander and, accepting from him a pass and the gift of 300 pistoles, returned sadly to Péronne, where he was, for a short time, the guest of the Marquis d'Hocquincourt. Thence he proceeded on September 11 to Cambrai, and on September 13 he rejoined Henry at Brussels.[2]

1659 September-December

The return of the Dukes to Brussels was a serious embarrassment to the King's ministers, for the truce established in May between France and Spain had deprived them of their military pay, and left them dependent on their elder brother, who entirely lacked means to provide for their support.[3]

'My Lord Chancellor will tell you how very little money is received of those small sums assigned at Madrid to be paid here, towards the arrears due to his Majesty. There are clamours by the King's creditors, and by his domestics, who, being in extreme want, are very importunate,' observed Nicholas to Ormonde in October. And the letters written at this period by Chancellor and Secretary form a monotonous duet of lamentation

[1] *Memoirs of James II.*, i. pp. 376, 377; Carte's *Ormonde*, iii. p. 683; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiv. ff. 11, 30, September 1, 2, 1659; *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, cciv. fol. 18.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiv. fol. 218, September 19, 1659; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 214.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiv. fol. 240, September 20, 1659; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 258.

concerning the 'incredible necessities' experienced by all in Flanders.[1]

There was, unhappily, little room for exaggeration. During the past year poverty and distress had spread rapidly among the exiles, men of all ranks now found themselves actually threatened with starvation, the hopeless condition of the King's unpaid troops had become notorious, and when things seemed at their worst a new burden was added to the exchequer by the arrival of Charles's French agent, De Marcés, fugitive and penniless, at Brussels.

De Marcés had for several years been a warm partisan of the Stuarts. In 1655 he was described as 'an active man, who acts for the Duke of York,' and after James's departure from France he became the trusted confidant of Hyde and Nicholas, to whose notice he had been first introduced by Bristol. In September 1655 Hyde instructed Sir Richard Browne to permit him to collect 200 pistoles out of the King's port dues, with the comment:

'I doubt it will be long before he will, out of those ports, receive that sum, but the request is the more modest, and could not well be deneyed his Majesty looking upon the man as one that hath done him many services.'[2]

The services here mentioned were chiefly connected with the supply of political intelligence, for De Marcés held some position of importance in the Paris Posthouse, and did not scruple to tamper with the letters which passed through his hands. By his means copies of the English Ambassador's correspondence with his government were regularly transmitted to Brussels, where they proved almost as serviceable to Spain as to Charles himself. But De Marcés was obliged to trust some of his

[1] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Nicholas to Ormonde, September 13-23, 17-27, September 25-October 5, October 1-11, 1659; Nicholas to Charles, November 19-29, 1659; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 213, 219.

[2] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. p. 231; *Evelyn's Diary*, iv. pp. 307, 310.

inferior officials with the copying of intercepted missives, and when funds ran short their knowledge became dangerous. In January 1659 he complained that he had received no assistance from Brussels for fifteen months past, that his agents were better paid by the Cardinal than by himself, and that some of his friends, willing enough to serve the English King, were very reluctant to benefit Spain by their efforts.[1] Lockhart also became impatient of the long delays to his English letters, which he declared never reached him until ten or twelve days after date, and in the autumn of 1659 the crisis arrived. On opening a letter addressed by Lockhart to England De Marcés was horrified to learn that means had been found of intercepting letters addressed to Charles's Ambassador in Spain. As many of those letters contained copies of Lockhart's own correspondence, it was obvious that De Marcés' treachery must be discovered, and he forthwith took refuge in Flanders, thus removing the onus of suspicion from his friends and agents in France.[2]

His reception at Brussels was kindly but not enthusiastic. 'We will make as much of him as we can, though we know not how to repair the misfortune, either to his particular, or to the King's service,'[3] wrote Hyde.

And, for some weeks, asylum was provided for him at Breda, but he soon wearied of a place so 'unfurnished with all kinds of occurrences,' and returned to share the poverty of his friends in Brussels.[4]

In the interim the hapless Chancellor had found a new vexation added to those which hourly assailed him, in the animus of the Berkeleys and others of James's friends. These attributed the failure of the recent rising entirely to Charles's jealousy of his brother, and asserted loudly

[1] *Thurloe Papers*, iv. p. 194; *Cal. Clarendon MSS.*, iii. Articles 794, 804; *Clarendon MSS.*, liv. ff. 92, 140; lv. fol. 214; lix. ff. 411, 429.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lvi. fol. 305; lvii. fol. 48; lxvii. fol. 175.

[3] *Ibid.*, lxv. fol. 41, October 4, 1659; *Flanders Papers*, R.O., Nicholas to Culpepper, September 25- October 15, 1659.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lv. fol. 116; lvi. fol. 261, November 23, 1659.

that the Royalists at home had been forbidden to correspond with James on pain of being regarded as traitors to the King.

'You will have heard, I doubt not, how much the affairs of England have suffered by the restraints which were put upon the Duke, against which his people exceedingly inveigh,' observed Hyde to Ormonde.[1]

And when the said people had added to their iniquities the championship of Willys,[2] and Henry of Gloucester had seen fit to take Tom Howard into his protection, the distracted Chancellor protested vehemently:

'The behaviour of men here on this occasion makes me weary of my life.'[3]

In short, every one was discontented, and every one blamed the Chancellor for his sufferings and disappointments. As a climax Sir Robert Walsh[4] made a venomous attack on the King's councillors, boasting that he would have Ormonde dismissed, Bristol arrested, and Hyde hanged, and obtained a not unfavourable hearing from Alonso and Caracena, who promptly ordered his release when Hyde had procured his imprisonment on a charge of conspiring against the King.

'The ministers here, not only in this, but in several other particulars, give dayly testimonys of their disafection to the King,' commented Taafe.[5]

And wrote Hyde to Ormonde:

'The truth is the censoriousness and insolence of this place is not to be endured, and I wish myself in any quiet corner and out of the noyse of it, which is the more grievous by my want of health, which I have not enjoyed since I saw you. . . . I am in no degree well, nor know not what will become of me.'[6]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiv. ff. 163, 240; *Carte MSS.*, ccxiii. fol. 356, September 13, 20, October 11, 1659; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 288.

[2] See page 398.

[3] *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 279; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 615, November 29, 1659.

[4] See page 154.

[5] *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 241, 259; *Carte MSS.*, ccxiii. fol. 356, October 11, 1659.

[6] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiv. fol. 163.

Over and above his other anxieties the Chancellor was perpetually haunted by religious difficulties, and fears for the very existence of his Church. As early as January 1652 the need for election and consecration of new bishops, in order to the maintenance of the Apostolic succession, had presented itself to the exiles, and by 1655 the need had become really pressing.[1] The few remaining bishops had grown old and feeble, the hope of Roman Catholics and Presbyterians that the rival Church would now die a natural death came daily nearer to realisation, and yet a regular election to any English see remained an impossibility. Many of the deans were dead, all the chapters were scattered, and though various solutions of the difficulty were offered none met with universal approval. Dr. Bramhall of Derry would fain have consecrated by letters patent to Irish sees, translating the bishops afterwards to England as occasion served. Dr. Frewen of Lichfield and Dr. King of Chichester volunteered to come over to Flanders and there consecrate without any title at all, and the Bishops of Sarum, Armagh, and Exeter were willing to do the same in England, if the King executed and retained a collation authorising their action, and signified his pleasure to the chosen bishops by verbal message only. But to the first plan Dr. Cosin objected that no man could, with a good conscience, accept of consecration to a see which he did not intend to serve, and the second plan was opposed by Dr. Wren of Ely, who stood out for at least a show of election.[2] Thus the matter remained in abeyance, and in spite of Hyde's remonstrances, lamentations, and openly-expressed fears, nothing was done until after the Restoration.[3]

In the meantime it was no easy thing for the exiles to remain faithful to their own Church. Both in France

[1] *Nicholas Papers*, i. p. 248; *Clarendon MSS.*, xlv. fol. 463; xlvi. fol. 186; *Flanders Papers*, R.O., Jane to Nicholas, May 29, 1658.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, l. ff. 93, 95, 164, 408; lxi. fol. 350; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 503, 520-521; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 72.

[3] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 570, 613, 652, 687.

and Spain, not worldly advancement only, but sometimes the very means of life itself were made dependent on submission to Rome,[1] and the scattered Englishmen were, besides, too often deprived of the very spiritual consolations for which they had fought and suffered. In Paris the Queen forbade the daily prayers at the Palais Royal, and though Jermyn occasionally lent his own room for performance of the office, he did so reluctantly and contributed nothing to the chaplain's maintenance. Yet, in spite of failing health and desperate poverty, the worthy Dr. Cosin long continued his Sunday ministrations at the house of Sir Richard Browne to a congregation made thin by fear of the Queen's displeasure.[2]

The exiles in Flanders, less fortunate than those in France, were without clergy to serve them until the King himself came thither in 1656, and on his arrival at Brussels in the following year De Vic wrote to Nicholas:

'I cannot do more now than thank you for yours, as to-morrow morning I receive the Communion, and it is high time, not having had It this fifteen or sixteen months. I hope whatever else we suffer here we shall not be so long without It.'[3]

Whither the King went he took his chaplains as a matter of course, but the immediate effect of his removal to Brussels was an interdict laid on the services of his household at Bruges. And even when the interdict was lifted by order of Don Juan there was a lack of clergy to officiate.[4]

In the circumstances it is not surprising that conversions were frequent. The diligent proselytising of the Queen met with much success in Paris, where even so fierce a Protestant as Lord Inchiquin reconciled himself

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. App. LXIX; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. fol. 67.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 418; *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 73.

[3] *Flanders Papers*, R.O., April 11-21, 1657.

[4] *Ibid.*, Earles to Nicholas, February 12, 1658; Jane to Nicholas, May 14, 22, 29, 1658, N.S.

with Rome, and thereafter contended fiercely with his heretic wife for possession of his son.[1]

In Flanders Bristol was the most prominent of the seceders, but many others were found to keep him in countenance, and among them several of James's personal following. This caused Dr. Morley to warn the Duke solemnly that he was himself in danger of incurring suspicion as a pervert, and that such a suspicion had been a principal cause of his father's misfortunes. But James, who never failed his friends, merely replied that he could not dismiss his servants for acting according to conscience, though he had neither encouraged nor desired their change of communion, and intended, for his own part, a faithful adherence to the Church in which he had been bred. And this resolution he firmly retained so long as it remained disadvantageous to his interests, being as faithful to the Church of his father in the years of exile as he was, at a later time, to that of his mother.[2]

Charles was less unworldly than his brother, he had also more at stake, and he was very firmly convinced that, as an avowed Roman Catholic, he could never sit upon the English throne. In this conviction he had rescued his brother Henry from the Queen, and had dismissed Bristol from the office of Secretary of State, yet all his protests and demonstrations could not entirely quash the persistent rumours of his conversion which had obtained ever since his alliance with Spain. In the autumn of 1659 this rumour received fresh stimulus from his sudden disappearance in the company of Bristol; it was even believed that he had promised to establish the Roman Church in England, and at the end of November Mordaunt wrote from London.

'The occasion of my writing this is to let you know that there is a report so hot of your master being turned Papist that unless it be suddenly contradicted, and the

[1] *Court and Times of Charles I.*, pp. 402-404, 407.

[2] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 47; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 458, April 24, 1659.

world disabused by something coming expressly from him it is likely, in this extraordinary conjuncture, to do him very great injury. . . . Your master is utterly ruined as to his interest here in whatsoever party if this be true, though he never had a fairer game than at present, and 'tis his stability in that point that gaines daily.'[1]

As Charles was at the time out of reach the Chancellor and Secretary did their best to combat the report, pointing out that Bristol had been actually dismissed from office, and was only chosen as his master's companion 'by reason of his having naturally the Spanish tongue.'

'No man has suffered and does suffer more for his religion than the King,' protested Nicholas. 'I am most confident that he is as firm and unalterable in the profession of the faith of the Church of England as you or I can possibly wish, and so you may boldly assert to all men, and that the reports spread in England to the contrary are mere calumnies and falsities. The King had no Counsellor with him that is a Papist or Popishly inclined, for My Lord Lieutenant and Lord Culpepper, the only two with him, were far from it.'[2]

Hyde likewise exerted himself in the eulogising of his Sovereign, but that a saving sense of humour preserved him from the utterance of too obvious absurdities, is evinced by his advice to Dr. Creighton concerning a somewhat fulsome dedicatory epistle.

'I must tell you,' wrote the diplomatic Chancellor, 'that as there is no Prince in Europe who deserves greater commendations, so there is no gentleman is sooner out of countenance with being over-commended. I have not in my lifetime seen him more displeased or more angry than in some encounters of that kind, and I dare swear he will be put to many blushes upon the reading your epistle and wish many expressions were away. You

[1] *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 254, 264; *Carte MSS.*, ccxiii. pp. 356, 417, October 11, November 20, 1659.

[2] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., November 26-December 6, December 3-13, 1659, Nicholas to Browne and Mills.

have not, nor you cannot say too much of the candour of his mind, of the justice and gentleness of his nature, of his affection and zeal to the Protestant religion, and of all these particulars the more may well be said because wicked men have endeavoured to traduce him and make him believed to be inconstant and revengeful in his nature, and corrupted in his religion. But, I beseech you, allay those other expressions which he will believe belong not to him, which relate to his conduct and perfection in war, and to such extraordinary abilities as can only be got by experience. . . . Above all, I beseech you, review and allay those too hyperbolical expressions of the modesty and severity of our Court.'[1]

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 567, September 25, 1659.

CHAPTER XV

Treaty of France and Spain—Assurances given to Charles—Bennett and Don Luis—Bennett and Mazarin—Absence of Instructions from the King—The King's Journey—Irresponsible Conduct of Charles and Bristol—Ormonde at Toulouse—Letter of Charles from Saragossa—Anxiety of his Ministers—Of Don Luis—Reception of Charles at Fuenterrabia—His Success—Unpopularity of Bristol—Hopefulness of Charles—Meeting of Ormonde and Mazarin—Proposal of Charles for Hortense Mancini—Refusal of Mazarin—Promises of Mazarin—Charles's Return Journey—His Arrival at Colombe—His Affection for his Sister—Reconciliation with the Queen—Recall to Brussels—Journey to Brussels.

1659 CHARLES'S disappointment concerning the English rising was the less severe because he had recurred to the time-worn hope of uniting France and Spain in his interest. This hope was now brought within the bounds of possibility by the resolution of the rival Crowns to end the war which had so long devastated both countries, and at the very moment when Charles decided not to cross to England a personal treaty between Mazarin and Don Luis de Haro was actually in progress on the French and Spanish frontiers. Caracena had promised that the English King should not be neglected in the treaty, and Don Luis had suggested that it should be attended by Charles, or one of his brothers. But the firm opposition of Mazarin, expressed through Henrietta, and the unsettled state of England prevented the King from embracing this overture.[1] Instead he directed Bennett to

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxi. p. 233; lxiv. p. 187; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 538; *French Papers*, Lockhart to Council of State, August 1-11, 1659.

represent him, and when that personage arrived at San Sebastian he had no cause to complain of his reception. Don Luis greeted him with all the ceremony due to his newly assumed title of ambassador, invited him to dinner, gave him the seat of honour at his side, formally drank the health of the King of England, and pledged himself to solicit for him the assistance of France.[1] Thus encouraged, Bennett resolved to seek an interview with Mazarin, and, with the sanction of Don Luis, attempted a surprise visit to him at St. Jean de Luz. Accompanied by five or six of Don Luis's guard, in addition to his own suite, he invaded the Cardinal's lodgings, but was stopped on the stairs by the Captain of the Guard, who firmly refused him admittance. Greatly crestfallen, he betook himself to dine at an inn, whither he was immediately followed by the French Captain, who bore soothing messages of his master's regret for the impossibility of receiving Bennett without permission of King Louis, and of his personal affection for King Charles.[2] This slightly allayed Bennett's chagrin, but could not wholly atone for his public discomfiture, nor for the triumph thereby afforded to his rival, Lockhart, who had followed the Cardinal as he had followed Don Luis. Moreover, Lockhart's overtures to Spain had met with more success than those of Bennett to France, and Don Luis had actually granted him a secret interview. Against this Bennett entered a vehement protest, and received in reply solemn assurances of Spain's fidelity to the English King, who was again invited to attend the treaty and promised a reception, public or private, according to his wish.[3] Don Luis even proposed to vacate his own lodgings in favour of Charles, and began to provide 'furniture of beds and plate' for his use, but as all these civilities produced no

1659 July 25th

August

September

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxii. fol. 125; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 540, July 26, August 8, 1659.

[2] *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 194; *Clarendon MSS.*, liii. fol. 122; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 538, August 3, 18, 1659.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxii. ff. 52*a*, 127, 129, 143; lxiii. ff. 86, 122, 274; lxv. fol. 39; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 549, 552, 607.

kind of response from their object, the Spaniard's enthusiasm presently cooled, and he addressed to Bennett very reasonable complaints of Charles's neglect of his own interests.[1] Further unpleasantness was caused by the presence of Peter Talbot, whom Bennett persisted in regarding as a useful colleague, and whom others suspected of intriguing on behalf of the English Government.[2] Their difference of opinion on this point produced a bitter and vexatious controversy between Hyde and Bennett, but eventually all other troubles became insignificant by comparison with the continued absence of letters or instructions from the King. Don Luis's offence at the omission to write to him became daily more marked, and the unfortunate ambassador found himself almost ignored.

'I confesse to you my heart is full, and not at all emptied by a letter I received from Lord Ormonde, in which I have not a word to say nor a letter to deliver here,' he wrote to Hyde on September 13.

And again, some weeks later:

'I swear to you my heart is ready to burst with vexation, yet I do what I can to content both sides.'[3]

Hyde had no comfort to offer, being as ignorant as Bennett himself of the King's whereabouts.

'I conclude,' he observed, 'that the King, on knowledge of the dismal news from England, has pursued his former resolutions and is gone to the treaty.'

And Nicholas added, on the same date:

'We have heard nothing of our master since he left St. Malo, and though we hope he has gone towards the frontiers it would be a comfort to be ascertained of it.'[4]

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 66.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxii. ff. 52*a*, 127, 129, 143; lxiii. ff. 86, 122, 274; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 549, 552, 607; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 232-235.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxii. fol. 125; lxiii. ff. 83, 181, 274; lxiv. ff. 155, 162; lxv. fol. 39.

[4] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Hyde to De Marcés, August 5-15, September 3-13, 1659.

Charles, who had, from the first, regarded attendance at the treaty as the only alternative to a voyage to England,[1] was meanwhile making his way towards the Pyrenees, but rather as though on a tour of pleasure than on a political mission of grave importance. He had selected as his companions Ormonde for his personal dignity and solid reputation, Bristol for his social qualities and knowledge of the country, and O'Neil for his well-known ability in the commissariat department. Having sent O'Neil in advance to Bordeaux, the other three proceeded slowly southwards to La Rochelle, where they had some thoughts of taking ship, and, since the Cardinal's refusal of passes had barred to them the ordinary route, it appeared to Charles an excellent opportunity for seeing the country. Bristol fell in with his humour only too readily, and thus it was not until September 22 that they reached La Rochelle, whence Charles wrote at last to his anxious friends at Brussels demanding the despatch of Toby Rustat with his clean clothes.[2]

His letter was at once a relief and a disappointment. The Secretary and Chancellor rejoiced in the news of the King's safety, but realised with dismay that he would reach the frontier too late. The treaty was reported to be already concluded; Don Luis and the Cardinal were to part on September 25, and the King's letter bore date only three days earlier.[3]

In happy oblivion of these things Charles lingered at La Rochelle, where, according to O'Neil, he and Bristol 'spent more tyme than would have carried them to Madrid.' Charles's own version of the matter was that he waited there eight days for a wind, but the wind proved unfavourable, and he finally decided to pursue the land

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 498-499.

[2] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 58; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 571; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiv. fol. 215; *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvi. fol. 454.

[3] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 572; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Hyde to De Marcés, September 27-October 7; Nicholas to Ormonde, October 1-11, 1659; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 216.

1659 October journey as offering a more amusing prospect.[1] Yet instead of taking a straight route by Bordeaux, he passed through Langue d'Oc to Toulouse, where the French Court had been established throughout the treaty. News that it was still there caused Charles to deviate again from the path, while Ormonde went on alone to intercept the Cardinal, in case he should have already left St. Jean de Luz. Understanding that he was shortly expected at Court, the Marquis decided to await his arrival there, and accordingly passed a week at Toulouse in solitude and depression of spirit.

'Yet I thank God I am in perfect health,' he wrote with forced cheerfulness to Nicholas, 'and so was my master when he went hence on the 7th of this month, and had never been indisposed in all his journey, unless once a little with eating too much fruit, though he would not acknowledge it. We wanderers have the divertisement of seeing new places to refresh the melancholy of our spirits, and are not subject to the complaints, and the sight of our friends in misery, but when we come to gather all you have writ, we shall have it all at once with the greater weight.'[2]

Three days later Charles himself wrote to the Chancellor from Zaragoza, whither he had been led by a false report of Don Luis having started homewards. The error, now discovered from a chance-met courier, weighed but little on the King's spirits, and he wrote lightly.

'You will wonder to find me no further advanced than this place, where I arrived last night, for the truth is our greedinesse of getting into Spaine with all haste has made us lose this tyme, as it falls out more unluckily than could be imagined. For, contrary to all expectation, Don Luis is still at San Sebastian's. . . . I hope God hath decreed all for the best. Our journey hitherto

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxv. ff. 14, 135.

[2] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 58; *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvi. ff. 454, 456, September 22, October 12, 1659.

hath been very lucky, having met with many pleasant accidents, and not one ill one to any of our company, hardly so much as the fall of a horse. But I am very much deceived in the travelling in Spaine, for, by all reports, I did expect ill cheere and worse lying, and hitherto we have found both the beds, and espetially the meate, very good. The only thinge I find troublesome is the dust, and particularly in this town, there having fallen no regne on this side the Perineans these four months. God keepe you, and sende you to eate as good mutton as we have every meale.' [1]

The receipt of this callous communication did nothing to sooth the ministers at Brussels,and caused Nicholas to write with some severity to Ormonde. 'Pray decypther this yourself. The King going hence with so firm a resolution, in case the rising in England failed, to hasten to the treaty on the frontiers, where his presence was so much desired by Don Luis de Haro and expected by all, we are extremely amazed that he so long delayed his repairing thither, and that, at length, he declined going there at all, his personal presence having been held most necessary by himself and all his friends. I beshrew the counsel that divided him from the resolution he fixed on before his departure hence, which will not only expose his steadinesse to much censure among some of his friends, and all his enemies at home and abroad, but—what even breaks my heart—make all his good subjects in England shy, and doubting to rely on his promise, since he is so unstable in his most important resolutions. This will give much credit to the false reports maliciously spread in England and France and sent into Spaine, of his Majesty and his council. I much apprehend the ill consequences of diverting his journey to the treaty at the frontiers will be little less prejudicial than Sir Richard Willys dissuading the friends lately engaged to rise for him. I know you will not spare to advise him what may be most for his honour and interest, but it is my duty to

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxv. fol. 135, October 15, 1659.

say this to you, and to acquaint you that the Prince of Condé is dissatisfied with his delay in hastening to the conference. The Marquis of Caracena speaks sharply, and, being told that the Earl of Bristol was with him in his dilatory proceedings on his journey, he shrugged his shoulders. Reputation is the interest of princes and the life of government, and he has lost much of it by this unseasonable delay. My heart is full, and I impart to you my tender apprehension, leaving it to you to make such use of it to the King's advantage, as you think good.'[1]

Yet only to one another would Charles's faithful ministers admit blame of their Sovereign, and even while he poured out his heart to his trusted colleague, Nicholas was assuring Mordaunt that all was well, and the King confidently expected at Fuenterrabia, whither he had sent Ormonde to inform Don Luis of his approach.[2]

Ormonde had in fact tired of waiting at Toulouse, and gone on to Fuenterrabia, where he hoped to find the King, but found only Bennett and Don Luis in great anxiety for the fate of the wanderer.[3] The arrival of O'Neil on the afternoon of Monday, October 20, with full explanations, and a demand for advice regarding Charles's next movements, served only to turn the current of anxiety in a new direction. Don Luis was not without suspicion that the whole affair was an attempt to reach Madrid in his absence, and there conclude some treaty without his concurrence, and it was not until he had been reassured by the reiterated explanations of Ormonde and O'Neil that the latter was sent back to Zaragoza with a pressing invitation to his master to hasten to Fuenterrabia.[4]

This time Charles made no unnecessary delay, and on October 28 he was ceremoniously received by Don Luis,

[1] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., October 29-November 8, 1659.

[2] *Ibid.*, October 8-18, 18-28, November 5-15, 1659; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 257.

[3] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 69.

[4] *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvi. fol. 457.

who met him on the road with guards and coaches, received him into his own coach, and so conducted him to the castle, where he was greeted with three volleys of artillery, and lodged in the Spanish Minister's own apartments. There he was attended as though he were the King of Spain himself, and daily visited by his host, with apologies for King Philip's inability to receive him at Madrid, and earnest protestations of the ardent desire for his restoration entertained by both Sovereign and Minister. 1659 November

'All the Spaniards here have the greatest veneration for his person and compassion for his condition yt can be imagined,' reported Bennett.

And, added O'Neil:

'He iss treated and served ass if he were at home. In short there iss no exterior thing wanting to show us we are welcome.'[1]

Charles, for his part, endeavoured to repair his late errors by a display of that innate ability, which it was the despair of his ministers that he would so seldom use.

'Now it is time I should tell you something of my master,' wrote O'Neil to Hyde on November 4. 'Let me assure you that he hath behaved himself here as if he had been bred more years in Spaine than in France, and that the French that come to see him return very well satisfied with their receptions. We see what hee can do, when he is resolved. Sir Henry Bennett, who interprets between him and Don Luis, says all the council could not deliver his business better, nor add a syllable to what he says. M. de Lionne that came to see him, returned strangely satisfied with the discourse he made to him.'[2]

In fact Charles's pious hope that all had been ordered

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxv. fol. 263; lxvi. ff. 3, 5, 30; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 596; Carte's *Ormonde*, iii. p. 686, October 31, November 1, 3, 4, 1659.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. fol 30, November 4, 1659.

for the best, appeared to have been fulfilled. His arrival proved, in the event, 'seasonable,' and he was far more welcome at this juncture than he would have been at an earlier period. In the circumstances no one was blamed for the delay save Bristol, who in vain argued with the Chancellor that he, at least, ought to know the King well enough to exempt his companions 'from the blame as from the praise of his actions.' He was the more readily accepted as the scape-goat, because his accompanying the King had been almost universally disapproved from the beginning, and Titus had actually represented to Charles the ill-effects likely to be thereby produced in England, France, and Spain. His words had been justified in England by the revival of the old story of Charles's conversion to Rome, and were now further confirmed by the behaviour of the French and Spanish Ministers. Don Luis made it evident that he still suspected Bristol of an attempt to steal a march on him, and the Cardinal actually forbade the French to visit him, professing to regard the secret and devious route pursued by Charles as a personal insult to himself.

'The Cardinal's creatures say our conductor made us make it to cast an imputation on the Cardinal, to make the world believe he intended to seize upon the King if he came the direct way,' observed O'Neil.[1]

And though the French assembled at St. Jean de Luz were permitted to visit the English King 'with great compliment,' the Minister himself held aloof, and his attitude remained ambiguous. Jermyn, who had been sent to the Court at Toulouse, asserted that the Cardinal needed only reassurance concerning his enemy, De Retz, whom he believed to have Charles's confidence, and Bennett also regarded him as well-disposed. But Don Luis confessed that he neither liked nor trusted him, adding that he had resisted all attempts to insert a special clause for Charles in the treaty ; and refused even

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. ff. 95, 282; lxvii. fol. 132; lxviii. fol. 120; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 251.

to speak of English affairs until after its signature.[1] Ormonde's request for an audience had been negatived, though 'in civil terms,' and with many assurances of goodwill, which were renewed to Charles personally after his arrival. On the whole the King was inclined to accept the Cardinal's promise of doing great things for him when the treaty had actually been signed,[2] and thereupon wrote in his most sanguine style to Hyde.

'I shall only tell you that I am as much satisfied with Don Luis's kindness and intentions towards me as I can be, and if it were absolutely in his own power I should not doubt but to return with the same satisfaction in the rest of my affairs. If you do not find that cheerfulnesse in my Lord Lieutenant's letter you might reasonably hope for it proceeds from the mysterious proceeding of the Cardinal, which in truth is not yet to be understood. . . . Yet he takes pains to let me know, underhand of his good inclinations and intentions towards me. I cannot give you my particular reasons that make me more sanguine in my hopes than others, the motives proceeding from little circumstances on the place which are not easy to sett down in writing. Nor I believe will you accuse me of being over sanguine in other matters, yet, upon the whole, I think there is more to hope than to fear.'

And he concluded with a request that his friends in England might be told, as they had been so often told, that something would really be done in the winter, for which they were to prepare themselves as best they could.[3]

The arrival of Nicholas Armorer, on November 6, with news of the forcible dissolution of the English Parliament by Lambert, caused all the Spaniards, and many of the French, to hasten with congratulations to the King,[4] and when the treaty had at last been signed on November 7,

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxv. ff. 50, 112, 130, 263; lxvi. fol. 24; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 66.

[2] *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvi. fol. 459; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxv. fol. 263; lxvi. fol. 33.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. fol. 24, November 3, 1659.

[4] *Ibid.*, lxvi. ff. 95, 124.

Don Luis pressed for a joint conference between himself, Charles, and the Cardinal. But Mazarin could not even yet resolve to break openly with England, and it was therefore arranged that Ormonde and Bennett should meet him, as though by chance, upon the road, when he went to take leave of Don Luis, on November 12. Accordingly the interview took place on horseback, and while Don Luis purposely delayed his arrival at the meeting-place, Ormonde represented to the Cardinal the distracted state of England, the constant appeals sent thence to the King, the certainty of the Royalists' success if aided by France, and the advantage to France of securing England's grateful friendship. The Cardinal replied civilly, professing grief on behalf of himself and his King for their enforced alliance with the English rebels, and a personal sympathy for Charles, but declining to take any active measures until after the marriage of King Louis, and the return of the Court to Paris. Don Luis, in his turn, deferred action until after the subjugation of Portugal, and there the matter rested.[1]

'They returned with satisfied countenances. What hopes are given them I am as ignorant as if you had been here,' reported O'Neil to Hyde. 'But I believe well because immediately after M. de Lionne came to compliment him (the King) from the Cardinal, and to assure him that the Cardinal would be glad to see him as he returned to Flanders. Wee poore sinking people—from the civilities and promises of this syde, but more from this doore that is opened to us beyond our expectation—are so exalted that we believe ourselves already at Dover.'[2]

The ministers at Brussels, of course, hastened to represent all in the most favourable light to their friends in England, assuring them that the King had received most satisfactory promises from both Don Luis and Mazarin,

[1] *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvi. fol. 465; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. fol. 147; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 71; Carte's *Ormonde*, iii. pp. 687-689; *Flanders Papers*, November 5-15, 1659, Roper to Nicholas; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 261, 263.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. fol. 147.

and emphasising particularly his business ability, and his personal success with the French and Spanish Ministers.

'He is certainly exceedingly beloved of all where he comes, being of a most mild and agreeable disposition. The truth is he is the best and most hopeful Prince now in the world and most firm in his religion,' averred Nicholas.[1]

Yet, on the same day, he wrote to Culpepper:

'I think with you that Spain neither can nor will do much for the King, without France join. The skill is how to incline the Cardinal thereto on reasonable and honourable terms.'[2]

Charles, being much of Nicholas's opinion regarding the value of the Cardinal's support, was ready to offer him terms which the old Secretary would probably have considered neither reasonable nor honourable, namely, marriage with his beautiful twelve year old niece, Hortense Mancini, in return for French aid, or even for connivance at the independent action of Turenne. With this overture Jermyn and Montague were already waiting at Toulouse, and when, on November 13, the Cardinal took his departure for the mud baths at Dax, Charles immediately announced his intention of returning to Flanders.[3] Don Luis thereupon promised to send orders for his better reception and accommodation in Brussels, presented him with 7000 gold pistoles, and escorted him as far as Hendaye, where they parted on November 17, Charles proceeding straight to Bayonne, and the Spaniard turning southward to Madrid.[4] To the amazement of every one Bristol accompanied the Spanish train. Once more he had effected an extraordinary conquest, and had so entirely won Don Luis's heart that he was pressed to return with him to Madrid

[1] *Flanders Papers*, R.O., Nicholas to Mordaunt, November 12-22, December 10-20, 1659; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 278.

[2] *Flanders Papers*, Nicholas to Culpepper, November 12-22, 1659.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. fol. 147; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 217, 254; Carte's *Ormonde*, iii. p. 691; *Jesse*, ii. p. 460; *Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, iii. p. 387.

[4] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 606.

on the understanding that he should be received into the Spanish service 'in such a province as should be worthy of him.' Overjoyed at his success, he represented his journey as undertaken on behalf of his master, though privately in order to avoid the expense of an embassy extraordinary, boasted of an intent to mediate between Don Luis and Don Juan, and assured Hyde that his new friend would supply all his needs, in earnest of which he had already received 300 pistoles, 'made considerable by just excuses that it was not more.'[1]

O'Neil, on the contrary, stated his opinion that the invitation to Madrid was merely designed to detach Bristol from the King, with the comment:

'I found though Don Luis used him very civilly he had no mynd he should meddle in his business. . . . Hee will find his account not much better at Madrid (than at Paris), but he is not of my opinion, which he owes to his happy constitutione rather than to his reason.'[2]

But, the loss of Bristol notwithstanding, Charles found himself encumbered with a train far larger than that he had brought with him. His servants, Delves and Rustat had followed him at his own desire. Culpepper and Roper had joined him with counsels which O'Neil considered 'deerely bought' by their expenses, and Charles Berkeley had come on behalf of James, at a cost, as O'Neil again averred, of some 2000 guilders, an expense that was doubly grievous because it was hard to persuade the Spaniards of Charles's poverty while they saw money spent to so little purpose. Armorer, the latest arrival, was also the most welcome, and was, in return for his good news, appointed equerry to the King, a promotion which so much pleased him that O'Neil declared him 'ass busy ass a new broome.'[3] These additions to his train, welcome or unwelcome, were a hindrance to Charles's intention of

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 72; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 606, November 18, 1659; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 262.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. ff. 147, 263, November 14, 23, 1659.

[3] *Ibid.*, lxvi. fol. 147; lxvii. fol. 132; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 572; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 209, 210, 236.

following the Cardinal, and the capable O'Neil was therefore deputed to despatch his comrades homeward. By the morning of November 22 they had joined him at Bordeaux, whither he had proceeded in charge of the newly received money, and within two hours he had started all on the way to Paris, excepting only Charles Berkeley who remained to solicit the renewal of James's pension, and Armorer, who had to await bills for the money to be sent to Fox at Brussels. This sum was eventually reduced by the lightness of the coins to something under 2000 pistoles, and O'Neil declared despondently that little more than 1000 would remain to the King by the time he reached Paris.[1]

Ormonde had, of course, remained with his master who was waiting the issue of Jermyn's negotiation at Bayonne. This was hastened by the unexpected arrival of the Cardinal at Court on Sunday, November 16, but the answer was not favourable. Habitual caution forbade Mazarin to risk his lovely niece on a chance so remote as Charles's restoration then appeared, and he replied evasively that the King had done him too much honour and must not think of a Mancini while his own cousin, the Grande Mademoiselle, remained unwed. Mademoiselle, piqued by the defection of her former wooer, urged the Cardinal eagerly to bestow on him the desired bride, but though Turenne also interceded, Mazarin remained inexorable. Once again Charles suffered the humiliation of a refusal, for which later years gave him an artistic revenge, when the woman who might have been his wife became his mistress.[2]

Jermyn was fain to console both himself and the King by making the most of the Cardinal's vague promises.

'As for the hopes Mazarin hath given Lord Jermyn—I might call them assurances, as he delivereth them to me—of declaring bare-faced for the King and assisting

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. ff. 255, 263, November 22, 23, 1659.

[2] *Ibid.*, lxvi. fol. 147; *De Montpensier*, iii. p. 387; Carte's *Ormonde*, iii. p. 691; *Jesse*, ii. p. 460.

him with a powerful army, sufficient alone to do his business, they are too great for us to rely upon,' observed Culpepper.

They were in fact guarded by the condition that there should first be peace in Europe, and Charles thereupon abandoned his intention of seeking an interview with the Cardinal and decided instead to visit his mother.[1]

Summoning Jermyn to Bayonne on November 21, he proceeded in his coach with Ormonde as far as Bordeaux. There they were rejoined by O'Neil, but were forced to leave behind Ormonde's servant, Maurice, who unfortunately killed the postmaster of the place in a quarrel. As he had merely acted in self-defence the magistrates took him into their personal protection, promising to retard the course of justice until pardon arrived from Court, and his companions were able to resume their journey on November 23 without much anxiety as to his fate.[2]

1659 December

Three posts beyond Bordeaux they parted from Jermyn, who pressed on to prepare the Queen for her son's arrival and induce her to remove to Colombes, since Charles was unwilling to enter Paris. Some days later Ormonde and O'Neil also went forward to procure 'necessaries' in Paris, and Charles followed slowly with no other attendant than Toby Rustat.[3] In this plight he was somewhat disconcerted to encounter the Dukes of Lorraine and Orléans at Blois, and, declining the honour of a formal reception, he hastened onward the same night. At noon on Thursday, December 4, he reached Chartres, where Crofts and Gerard met him, and, on the following day, he arrived at Colombes, where he was rejoined on December 6 by O'Neil and Ormonde, and lodged, by his own choice, in Crofts's house.

'The Queen treats the King for his table and would

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxv. fol. 263; lxvi. fol. 255, November 22, 1659.
[2] *Ibid.*, lxvii. ff. 50, 60.
[3] *Ibid.*, lxvi. fol. 288; lvii. fol. 50.

have lodged him, but I believe his Majesty will lye at Lord Crofts his house, which is hard by her Majesty's,' explained Church.

And, added Armorer:

'The Queen was in great joy at meeting the King, and the pretty princess his sister no less. Her Highness is so grown the King did not know her, for they brought his Majesty another young lady whom he saluted for his sister, and was in that mistake till my Lord Gerard undeceived him.'[1]

It was at this period that Charles conceived for his little sister that deep and lasting affection which has been called the one untainted spot in his life, and this circumstance doubtless helped forward his reconciliation with the Queen. They had not met since their quarrel over Henry, and the intervening years had left much bitterness between them, but now policy as well as natural affection inclined both to reopen friendly relations. Jermyn had played the part of mediator so well that even O'Neil, an object of special dislike to the Queen, found smiles prepared for his reception, and observed cheerfully, 'The spirit of peace reigns here, as well as at the frontiers.'[2] And Charles, not behind his mother in graciousness, showered marks of favour upon her servants, bestowing on Jermyn an earldom, and on Percy Church the Keepership of the Park at Windsor.[3]

'All unkindnesses are forgotten between the mother and the son, and I hope that goodwill will go through all the royal family,' wrote Carteret.

And, observed a member of the Queen's household, 'The Queen and Lord Jermyn have absolutely got him as they and wee believe, and those chimeras he was possessed of doe vanish.'[4]

All this was, of course, less pleasing to the ministers

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvii. ff. 25, 27, 60, December 5, 1659.
[2] *Ibid.*, lxvi. fol. 95; lxvii. fol. 50.
[3] *Ibid.*, lxvii. fol. 172.
[4] *Ibid.*, lxvii. ff. 167, 217.

at Brussels than to the members of the Palais Royal. 'I wish there may be a happy reconciliation and a right understanding between the King and the Queen, but I doubt those about her will not let her be satisfied unless the King puts the management of all affairs into their hands,' declared Nicholas.[1]

Some consolation he probably derived from the brevity of the King's visit which was cut short by the arrival of Mordaunt and Baron at Colombes. The news, of which they were bearers, necessitated a hasty return to Brussels in their company, and on December 17 Charles took an affectionate leave of his mother and sister.[2]

'As for the King and Queen's parting, I trewly believe it was with a most reall kindness and absolute oblivion of all past misunderstandings,' averred Church. 'The breakfast past, and leave taken, his Majesty immediately took coach with the Marquis of Ormonde, Lord Jermyn, Lord Gerard, and Mr. Harry Jermyn, and went direct to Mr. Montague's house at Pontoise, but, in the way, intended to visit the monastery of Maubuisson, where the Princess Louise[3] is performing her novitiateship. The Thursday and Friday night his Majesty resolved to lye at Verneuil, at his uncle's, M. de Metz.[4] The trayne and goods in a waggon parted the same day, under command of Mr. Armorer, with passport and letter to the governor of Péronne, which I procured.'[5]

Expresses from England haunted Charles by the way. One met him at Pontoise, a second, arriving there after his departure, pursued him to Verneuil, and before he had left that place a third messenger reached Paris. Thus stimulated to haste, he parted from his uncle, Jermyn, Crofts, and Montague on Saturday, December

[1] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Nicholas to Littleton, November 26-December 6, 1659.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvii. ff. 50, 172.

[3] Louise, Princess Palatine, sister of Rupert, and cousin of Charles II.

[4] Henri de Bourbon, illegitimate son of Henri IV.

[5] *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 269; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvii. fol. 172, December 19, 1659.

20, and proceeded with Ormonde and Mordaunt to Roye, whence he made a détour to confer with Turenne at Amiens. On Sunday, December 21, he reached Péronne, on Monday he was at Cambrai, and on Wednesday, Christmas Day, he arrived at Mons, whence he sent news of his approach to Brussels, desiring a coach to meet him at Hal. He had feared delay on account of the roads made heavy by a thaw, but travelling proved better than he anticipated, and on the evening of December 26 he reached Brussels, a day sooner than was expected.[1]

'The King came hither the last night, a little before it was dark, . . . in very good health and very good humour,' announced Hyde to Bennett on December 27.[2]

Charles's good spirits did not long survive his return to Brussels, which he found even more desolate and gloomy than he had left it. His brothers, having lost pay and occupation on the close of the war, were wholly without means of subsistence. The rest of his people were sunk in the depths of poverty and an almost hopeless dejection. Condé had dismissed his foreign troops and returned to France, in accordance with the terms of the recent treaty. Don Juan, wearied of his ceaseless contests with Caracena, had resigned his office and retired to Spain, and neither Caracena nor Alonso showed any disposition to fulfil Don Luis's promises to Charles of a better reception and entertainment than had been theretofore offered him.[3]

'The best the King could look for seemed to be a permission to remain in Flanders with a narrow assignation for his bread.'[4] But even that 'melancholic condition' was uncertain, and in the circumstances James was glad to accept the Admiralty of Spain, though assured that 1656 March 2nd

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvii. ff. 166, 172, 191, 199, December 19, 20, 1659.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 636, December 27, 1659.

[3] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. pp. 46, 74; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Nicholas to Ormonde, November 19-29, 1659, Nicholas to Mordaunt, December 3-13, 1659.

[4] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 75.

it was no satisfactory position for a royal prince, and that he would never be allowed to go to sea until he had changed his Church.[1] Henry apparently sought consolation for his misfortunes at tennis, and Charles in inditing tender epistles to the little sister, whose acquaintance he had so lately renewed.[2]

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 75; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxviii. fol. 153; lxix. fol. 45; lxxii. fol. 40; *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvii. ff. 10, 12.

[2] Cartwright's *Madame*; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvii. ff. 156, 189.

CHAPTER XVI

Revival of Confidence among the Cavaliers—Mordaunt at Calais—Proposal of Marriage with Lambert's Daughter—Dissolution of the Rump by Lambert—Anarchy in England—Action of Monk—Restoration of the Rump—Fall of Lambert—Urgent Summons to the King and Dukes—Difficulties of James—Disappointment in the French Negotiation—Overtures of Holland—New Mission to the French Court—Return of Mordaunt to England—Jealousies and Dissensions—Royalist Preparations—Failure of Foreign Aid—Hopes of Monk—March of Monk—His Reception in London—His Attack on the City—His Letter to the Rump—His Declaration for a Free Parliament—Readmission of Excluded Members—Final Dissolution of the Long Parliament.

FROM the time of the King's disappearance from Calais his 'fatal' absence had been the despair of all who wished him well at home.[1] When the shock of Booth's defeat was past, confidence had returned to the Royalist plotters. It was perceived that the troops secretly banded together throughout the country were yet, for the most part, intact and undiscovered. Many leading men, whose arrest had seemed a certainty, remained at liberty, and those taken were treated with an unexpected leniency.[2] The Government was in a 'staggering condition,' distrustful of its victorious general, fearful of the army, and unrespected by the people, who received the proclamation against Booth with open mockery.[3] It

1659 September

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxv. fol. 244; *Flanders Papers*, November 5-15, 1659, Nicholas to Ormonde.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiv. fol. 131; lxv. fol. 4; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 204; *French Papers*, R. O., Bordeaux to Mazarin, August 25-September 4, 1659; *Clarke Papers*, iv. p. 56.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, Shaw to Hyde, September 7, 1659; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 555; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 203.

was plain that the populace would 'boggle' at nothing that the King might do. Fleetwood and the Speaker, Lenthall, were both reported ready to declare for him; it was even hinted that the rising star, Lambert, might be won if an adequate bribe were offered, and in the circumstances most of those engaged in the conspiracy professed themselves still willing to fulfil their promises provided the King did his part and landed in England with 1000 men.[1] If he chose the west, which was described as especially 'hearty,' Exeter and Gloucester would be secured to him. If, on the contrary, he preferred the east coast, Norfolk was ready, and the seizure of Lynn would present little difficulty. Browne was as hopeful as ever of gaining London, and, Booth's part excepted, all preparations stood as before.[2]

With this news Mordaunt hurried to Calais, bent on bringing the King over at all risks, but found to his dismay that both King and Duke had left the French coast.[3] Announcing his own intention of following Charles, he sent Baron in pursuit of James with a letter urging him to take an expedition to England without delay, and proposing that he should at the same time facilitate matters by offering marriage to Lambert's daughter and only child, Fatima. James, who had secretly pledged his hand to Anne Hyde, replied that he was ready to sacrifice himself in any way for his brother, and would exert himself to the utmost in regard to the desired invasion, but declined to take steps in the other affair without the sanction of the King.

1659 October

Baron, returning from Breda, *via* Brussels, then confided the secret to Nicholas, charging him to conceal it from all save the King, and mentioning the proposed bride only as 'the daughter of a general of power and

[1] *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 221, 228, 231; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 546.

[2] *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 204, 215, 217, 221, 226, 228-231; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 548, 566; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., September 7-27, 1659, Nicholas to Ormonde.

[3] *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 215.

good quality in England.'[1] The Secretary was, however, at no loss to guess the lady's identity and at once wrote to Mordaunt approving the project, but regretting that it had not been first broached to the King, and recommending silence on the subject until his pleasure had been ascertained.

'As I formerly told Mr. Baron, when at his return from Breda he said he had proposed a match to the Duke, without naming to me who it was, I wished he had forborne to propose that business to the Duke till the King had first been acquainted with it, so now I advise you not to speak or write a word more of that business till you have yourself acquainted the King with it and received his direction concerning it.'[2]

Mordaunt pleaded in excuse his own inability to leave Calais and the general ignorance of the King's whereabouts, but the search for him was eventually undertaken by Baron, who found him at Fuenterrabia, and there laid the suggestion before him. Charles's reception of it was not enthusiastic, and, though he professed his readiness to entertain it if it came well authenticated from the other side, there remained the difficulty of finding a negotiator equally trusted by the King and the General.[3] Possibly such a negotiator might have been found by Hatton, who, according to his own statement, knew the Lambert family 'from the top to the bottom,' and was at this very juncture charged with a proposal similar to that of Mordaunt, only substituting Charles for James as bridegroom.

'It is thought by the movers in this business that no security can serve him who can settle the King in his three thrones but such a bond as the established law of the nation cannot break or violate, and that is that the

[1] *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 200, 237; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Nicholas to King, October 8-18, 1659; Nicholas to Baron, October 1-11, 1659.

[2] *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Nicholas to Mordaunt, October 8-18, 1659; Nicholas to King, October 8-18, 1659.

[3] *Ibid.*, Nicholas to Baron, November 12-22, 1659; Nicholas to Mordaunt, November 12-22, 1659.

King should marry the Lord Lambert's daughter,' he wrote to Hyde on October 30. 'The grounds of this motion are the great ease and speed of settling the King's business this way rather than any other. The many difficulties and very hard conditions which is believed are found in all other ways will be cut off, it being in this case the lady's fate and interest that so it should be. And it is believed no foreign aid will be so cheap nor leave our master at so much liberty as this way. The race is a very good gentleman's family, and kings have condescended to gentlewomen and subjects. The lady is pretty, of an extraordinary sweetness of disposition, and very virtuously and ingeniously disposed. The father is a person, set aside his unhappy engagements, of very great parts and very noble inclinations, and certainly more capable of being passed by than the rest. . . . If you think it not fit, let me know, and let it die and burn this letter. If you find cause to propose it, then put all the expedition to it that may be; and if our master approve it, then let that be drawn up into a letter, with very hearty expressions and sufficient authority to the party to whom it shall be addressed, of whom we are not yet resolved, and therefore the address must be written here, after it comes.'[1]

Hyde, who thought less well of the proposition than did Nicholas, forbore to forward it to Fuenterrabia, on the plea that in so doing he must violate the necessary secrecy, since no one could suppose that the King would take the trouble to decipher a letter himself. He promised, however, to communicate the overture to him immediately on his return to Brussels, but before that took place the collapse of Lambert's brief power had rendered any such communication futile.[2]

Meantime, events had moved rapidly in England, and

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. fol. 101; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 592, October 30, 1659.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. fol. 291, November 28, 1659; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 615.

Mordaunt, who had been detained at Calais by poverty and anxiety for his wife, still lingered there, after her arrival with the necessary supplies, in expectation of a new crisis at home.[1] It was not long delayed. On October 12-22 the Parliament, warned by experience that a too victorious general might be dangerous to itself, cashiered Lambert and put the command of the army into commission. On the next day, October 13-23, Lambert forcibly dissolved the Parliament, as Cromwell had dissolved it once before. On October 14-24 a self-constituted council of officers appointed Fleetwood General, Lambert Major-General, and Desborough Commander of the Cavalry, and on October 26 the same council confided the Government to a Committee of Safety, consisting of twenty-three persons, among whom were Vane, Whitelocke, Ireton, the Lord Mayor, and the three generals.[2] Thereupon Monk announced his intention of coming to England in the character of mediator, and on November 3-13 Lambert marched northward to meet him, reaching Newcastle on November 21-December 1. On December 5-15 Monk halted at Berwick with a well-disciplined army, 7000 strong, and there entered into a treaty designed to spin out the time until his rival's ill-fed and unpaid forces melted from him.[3]

1659 October 12th-22nd

October 14th-24th

October 26th-November 5th

November 3rd-13th

November 21st-December 1st

While the two generals thus faced one another anarchy reigned throughout the country. The city of London, refusing recognition to the Committee of Safety, took upon itself the control of affairs,[4] Morley and Hazelrigge mustered forces for the Rump at Portsmouth, and when Lawson sailed into the Thames and declared for

December

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxv. ff. 63, 133, October 17, 24, N.S; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 218, 222-223.

[2] *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 244-250, 253, 265; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxv. fol. 246; lxvi. fol. 22; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 581.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvii. fol. 220; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 266; *Clarke Papers*, iv. pp. 101-103.

[4] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 601, 624, 626; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvii. fol. 222; *Clarke Papers*, iv. pp. 186-188.

the same interest, Fleetwood and his officers abandoned the struggle and gave themselves up to prayer and lamentation.

'Fleetwood weeps, the rest of the officers pray till one in the afternoon; their condition is as desperate as it is ridiculous,' asserted one of Hyde's correspondents.[1]

1659-60 December 22nd-January 1st

Neither prayers nor tears availed to keep their soldiers from desertion, and when Morley and Hazelrigge approached London on December 22-January 1 they were joined by most of the troops there quartered. Even Desborough's regiment, sent back by Lambert to meet the storm, made common cause with his foes, and on December 24-January 3, all marched to Lenthall's house in Chancery Lane and vowed to live and die with the Parliament. Lenthall then resumed his sway as Speaker, recovered command of the Tower, and re-

December 26th-January 5th

assembled the Rump on December 26-January 5. Fleetwood, renouncing all worldly affairs, sat 'peaking in his chamber, as if it were moulting time with him and all birds of his feather.' Several of his colleagues were imprisoned in their own houses, and orders were sent to Lambert's army to return to its quarters. These orders were gladly obeyed, and Lambert, seeing himself deserted, accepted an amnesty and retired into private life.[2]

1659 October

News of the Rump's dissolution had been delayed by the closing of the ports, and thus did not reach Mordaunt at Calais until October 27.[3] On that day he hastily despatched Armorer to summon the King, protesting:

'My heart will be broke if his Majesty come not time enough to engage and give orders on this occasion, which we could never wish a fairer.'[4]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvii. fol. 185, December 9-19, 1659.
[2] *Ibid.*, lxviii. fol. 104; *Clarke Papers*, iv. pp. 220, 222, 223, 232.
[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. ff. 37, 43.
[4] *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 239; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxv. fol. 244.

JOHN, VISCOUNT MORDAUNT.

From the engraving by Faithorne in the British Museum.

And, having warned Turenne and the two Dukes to hold themselves ready for action, he himself returned to England with Phelipps on November 1.[1] 1659 November

There he found all things in utter confusion and most of his friends again at liberty. Many had been released by Lambert before his departure, others were now set free by the judges on writs of Habeas Corpus, and an attempt of the Provisional Government to rearrest them was foiled by the populace, who dragged the soldiers sent to seize them into Court, with cries of 'Justice! Justice!' November-December

This incident was very encouraging, as indicating strong sympathy for the King in London, and the released Royalists again professed themselves ready to redeem their recent errors, if only the King or Dukes would join them with a foreign force.[2] Without that stimulus they would not move, and Mordaunt entreated James to come before tranquillity was restored by the destruction of one or other of the rival generals.

'Without the King or your Highness come, we are like to lose such an occasion as never yet presented itself. . . . My present fear is, before the King comes, Lambert may be destroyed. Having humbly represented this to your Highness, I need say no more but that no time is to be lost. The north extremely want a person of quality, and such a one as can raise and conduct them. . . . Confusion increases, and if his Majesty times it, we are all happy.'[3]

But the great opportunity offered by Turenne had now been lost, and to this, and all similar appeals, James had but one reply. Any risk to his own person he was willing to take, men he did not lack, but ships he had not, and, until an English port were secured to the King, the Spaniards would not provide them.

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxv. fol. 255.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 592, 597, 625; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. ff. 22, 143; lxviii. fol. 48.

[3] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 591-592; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. fol. 44, October 27-November 6.

'It will not be, I think, difficult for me to get such a number of men in readiness as you propose,' he wrote. 'But then you know the procuring vessels to transport them, a quantity of spare arms and ammunition, and other necessary provisions doth so absolutely depend upon the Ministers here, that without their entire concurrence and full assistance all the preparations I can make will little advantage the work. You may be sure I do all that is in my power to promote the business with them, who give me as civil answers as the generals I propose to them can require. But I must tell you . . . all that I can say or promise to them upon a general, secret, good disposition towards the King will not, I fear, prevail with them to be engaged in any action without full directions from their masters. Nor will they believe such preparations as you mention to be equal to such an enterprise as must begin the work, which they do believe harder than, no doubt, it is. But if they shall see any maritime place in our power, where we may disembark, or any defection in the navy, that we may serve ourselves of those vessels, I do not question, but upon such a stock of reputation I shall persuade them to anything I can reasonably desire, without expecting directions from their superiors.'[1]

Thus recurred the old dead-lock, for the required port had to be purchased, and money for the purchase was unattainable. Though it was alleged that £10,000 would gain four regiments, and every one upbraided the King's agents for not buying both army and fleet, no one was willing or able to provide the needful sum. Rumbold and Mordaunt, who had almost ruined themselves in the cause, were so far from receiving gratitude that they were accused of misappropriating the public funds, and while affairs were at a standstill for want of mutual confidence and authoritative leadership, the edict of

[1] *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 260, 266, 268; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 578; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. fol. 13; *Flanders Papers*, R. O., Nicholas to Mordaunt, November 7, 1659, N.S.

banishment of Cavaliers was renewed by the Committee of Safety.[1]

The one solution of all difficulties seemed to be the presence of the King, and many reproached him sharply for his long delay.

'All sober and most wise men say that had the King been here any morning these ten days last past he had been crowned before night, and truly 'tis the sense of us all,' wrote Baron, on January 2. 'Unless the King attempts something speedily the Rump will get up again and our ruin will certainly follow.'[2]

Possibly Baron was right and Charles's arrival on the scene, even without an army at his back, might have turned the scale in his favour. But the risk was too great to run, and early in December Mordaunt recrossed the Channel in the hope of finding that the negotiation with France had proved more profitable than that with Spain. His disappointment on learning from the King its still nebulous condition was very great, and on December 11 he wrote with some asperity to Hyde from Colombes: 1659 December

'My Lord, though I know my Lord Ormonde has given you an account of all transactions since their leaving Brussels, yet I cannot forbear freely to say that to my apprehension they have not made so considerable a progress as I expected, especially as to what relates to France; and, my Lord, this puts me in some pain and disorder, for his Majesty, finding the account I bring him so advantageous to encourage and animate those people here, has commanded me to state his affairs in writing that by those inducements assistance may be the easier obtained. My Lord, 'tis a new point the communicating affairs to foreign ministers, and to such as have not absolutely promised to serve the King, and

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 592, 628, 630, 631; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxv. fol. 575; lxvii. fol. 240.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 640; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvii. fol. 167; xviii. ff. 16, 26.

indeed I am clear of opinion there ought to be great caution in it. . . . The King will now see he wants your Lordship and Mr. Secretary, for had you been here his Council had still been masters of our own affairs, which by this way of proceeding we partly put into other people's hands. I have not time to enlarge, but by the little I have said you will find it absolutely necessary the King grow active, his business in England ripening too fast for these slow counsels.'[1]

The failure in the French negotiation was the more disappointing because the Dutch had already hinted to Sir George Hamilton their readiness to follow the lead of France, and this hint was subsequently confirmed by Heenvliet, who declared, on the authority of De Witte himself, 'that whenever France should think fit to propose to Holland a conjunction for restoring the King they would be found well disposed to it.'[2]

1660 January — In consequence of this, and of the urgency of Mordaunt, Jermyn and Montague were sent back to Toulouse, there to renew their solicitation of the Cardinal, and to make fresh representations of the hopeful state of Charles's affairs. Mordaunt meanwhile accompanied the King to Brussels, whence he was ultimately despatched to England on January 16, armed with new instructions for the Royalist commissioners at home.[3]

January-February — His return was signalised by an outbreak of all the old controversies between his own party and that of the Knot, now more than ever embittered by the vexed question of Willys's treachery, and by a new accusation brought against Broderick, of betraying Rumbold's cipher to the Government.[4] Even Titus and Massey complained, perhaps with reason, that they were 'shut

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 626-627.

[2] *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 289, 290, 303; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. ff. 55, 59, 105, 221, 272; lxvii. fol. 5; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 615.

[3] *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 301; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxviii. fol. 77; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 646.

[4] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 662, 665, 668; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxix. fol. 91.

out' from affairs by Mordaunt's lack of confidence in them,[1] and Broderick descanted more sharply than ever on the chief agent's vanity, ostentation, boastfulness, and difficulty of access:

'Your mistake, under favour, is very great when you suppose no other reason save a pique to his person or envy of his employment disinclines so many from a nearer conjunction,' he assured Hyde, 'when, alas, there is almost an impossibility, first in relation to his privacy, varied lodgings, long attendance, multitudes of suitors expecting audience, with the hazards that arise from all, besides the common prologue of his own danger, prodigious fasting, watching and weariness discouraging a thorough debate or second application.'

And again:

'The various descants on his actions are more the entertainment of other meetings than the business they come about. Nor are his fellow commissioners so thoroughly kind that they hide any of his infirmities, which, added to the women's discourses in his own family, were the origin, and will be the continuance of this misfortune.'[2]

Mordaunt's friends, on the other hand, defended him with vehemence, and on February 13-23 Grenvile, Legge, and Peyton addressed a joint letter to the King wherein they declared themselves, 'not only in justice obliged to vindicate that noble person from the false aspersions, malice, and envy thrown upon him, but likewise to give all commendations imaginable to his industrious and indefatigable endeavours in your Majesty's service.'[3]

The Chancellor endeavoured, as usual, to remain on terms with all parties. He discounted the charges against Broderick with the comment that other ciphers besides that of Rumbold had been discovered and read

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvi. fol. 95; lxix. fol. 55; lxxii. fol. 42.
[2] *Ibid.*, lxxi. fol. 237; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 675, 688.
[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxix. fol. 142; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 677.

without the medium of treachery, and he rejected all aspersions on Mordaunt's character, reproaching that personage for the belief that they could have obtained an instant's credence at Brussels. Yet he exhorted him to put more trust in Massey and Titus, and hinted gently that the overzeal of friends like Hartgill Baron, who had asserted that 'The King must owe his crown to my Lord Mordaunt!' was likely to be more hurtful than helpful.[1]

Mordaunt's own attitude towards his traducers was philosophical:

'Il ne faut pas aller au bois qui a peur de feuilles,' he observed. 'And, provided I may be serviceable to my Prince, I have resolution and constancy enough to stand more shocks of envy and malice than my enemies can raise against me.'[2]

Certainly he did not suffer such things to hinder his labours. Before the end of February he had procured the appointment of Royalist commissioners to almost every county of England and Wales, and, aided by gracious letters from the King, had won the alliance of many influential persons, among them Ingoldsby, whose military power was deemed second only to that of Monk.[3] Overtures to the navy were less successful. Lawson still held himself aloof—'a sea-Fairfax, so sullen, so senseless, so obstinate a courage, so wayward an animosity'—but it was believed that discontent and want of pay would work with the sailors as with the soldiers, and induce them to follow Montague on the King's appearance.[4] The city, regarded by Mordaunt as 'the Master-wheel,' was on the whole well-inclined. Two aldermen at least, Robinson and Langham, were earnest in the royal cause, and the Lord Mayor had actually been heard to exclaim:

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 662, 672, 676, 683, 709, 716.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii. p. 592.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii. pp. 662, 672; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxix. ff. 126, 136; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 332, 333.

[4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvii. fol. 250; lxviii. fol. 161; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 640, 649.

'Who would not admit Charles Stuart could men be assured of indemnity!'

But fear for the security of their property, purchased on a rebel title, restrained him and the rest of the common councillors from throwing in their lot with the King, and the same question of indemnity proved a stumbling-block to the whole Presbyterian party.[1]

'Ask them "What Indemnity?"' said Broderick; 'they are amazed, nor can they readily answer. That sting of conscience, that worm that never dies, will never suffer them to believe themselves pardoned should he add the Sacrament to his royal seal.'[2]

It was indeed impossible for Charles to give satisfactory pledges concerning the forfeited lands without sacrificing his own best friends, and for this reason the Cavaliers desired, as much as the Presbyterians dreaded, a restoration by force of arms. The rapid spread of the King's interest encouraged them to hope for it. The young men grown up since the troubles were almost unanimously 'of the better sense,' and it was believed that the Royalist party now exceeded all others in numbers, wealth, birth, and courage. Offers of service poured in from all sides. Derby professed himself ready to lay down his life like his father before him. Fairfax promised adhesion, Popham renewed his former engagements, and Charles was implored to come speedily, and sharply reproached for delay.[3]

In February an attempted rising in the west seemed to herald a new war. 1660 February

'Bristowe is up, and we shall see the like in all counties in England,' wrote a correspondent of the Chancellor. 'God send the King able to give his friends some countenance.'

But the movement was suppressed before the news of

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxviii. ff. 14, 161; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 641, 644, 649; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 301.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 644, 653, 662.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii. pp. 640, 641, 652, 670, 714, 719; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxviii. ff. 44, 59, 147, 148; lxix. ff. 40, 126, 136, 191; lxxii. fol. 8.

it reached Brussels, and Charles was as far as ever from obtaining foreign aid.[1] The Spanish Ministers were in their usual difficulties, and though Caracena admitted that he had orders to make up the King's troops to the number of 3000, he stipulated that they must be embarked in France. On the other hand, France offered the same number of men to be embarked in Flanders, with 30,000 pistoles for the expenses of the expedition, on the condition that her assistance remained a secret. Thus the promises of both powers were effectually neutralised and Charles, denied even the reputation of an alliance with France, inclined more and more to the belief that his best hope lay in Monk.[2]

There was no personal reason why that general should be irreconcilable to the House of Stuart. He came of a good Devonshire family, which had always adhered to the King, and in the early days of the Civil War had himself fought in the Royalist ranks. Taken prisoner at Nantwich he had spent two years in the Tower, at the end of which he had agreed to serve the Parliament in Ireland, and from that time onward he had been faithful to Commonwealth and Protector, doing signal service for
1655 both in Scotland. Yet the Royalists had never ceased to regard him as a potential friend, and in 1655 Charles had even addressed a letter to him, averring that he still
1656 January believed him loyal at heart. Though this letter was repudiated and forwarded to Cromwell, Monk was mentioned in the following January as one of four persons able, and probably willing, to restore the King,[3] and on
1658 October Cromwell's death in 1658 he was again named by Culpepper as the one man of power in whom the King might hope.[4]

December Charles thereupon sought to renew his overtures by means of the general's brother, Nicholas Monk, Vicar of

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxviii. fol. 187; lxix. ff. 123, 161.

[2] *Ibid.*, lxviii. fol. 187; lxix. fol. 47; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 673, 689; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 76; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 267, 299, 304, 308.

[3] *Nicholas Papers*, iii. p. 258.

[4] See page 376.

Kilkhampton in Cornwall. But Sir John Grenvile, Nicholas's kinsman and patron, demurred to his employment on the ground that he was, though 'a very honest man and a good skollar,' not overwise in practical matters.[1] For this, and other reasons, the affair remained in abeyance until July 1659, when, in view of the projected insurrection, Grenvile, Bellasys, and Falconbridge received full powers to treat with George Monk. They were instructed to assure him that none of his actions were unpardonable, to promise him such lands and honours as he should desire, and to undertake the confirmation by the King of any promises made by him to his officers and men. In addition to this Charles indited a letter to the General himself, for delivery whenever occasion should prove favourable, in which he protested: 'I cannot think you wish me ill, for you have no reason to do so, and the good I expect from you will bring so great a benefit to your country and yourself that I cannot think you will decline my interest. If you once resolve to take my interest to heart I will leave the way and manner of declaring it to your own judgment, and will comply with the advice you shall give me.'[2] But before any definite steps had been taken Grenvile and Bellasys were arrested, with other Cavaliers, and their houses searched for papers. Grenvile appears to have been particularly suspected, and was twice examined by the Council of State, but fortunately for him no proofs could be found against him.

1659 July

'So I was dismissed,' he wrote, 'being commanded not to stir without leave, and had much other good council and advice given me which I fear I shall hardly be able to follow.'[3]

Meanwhile Nicholas Monk had set out in the first week of August to visit his brother at Dalkeith. His ostensible

August

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lix. fol. 278; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 420.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxi. fol. 391; lxii. fol. 53; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 417.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxiii. fol. 259; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 543.

pretext was the arrangement of a match for his daughter, and he refused to be the bearer of the King's letter as too dangerous a possession in case of accidents on the journey. Also he judged it best to prepare his brother for its reception, and the event justified his prudence. The General heard all that he had to say with attention, but declined to receive the letter, or to commit himself in any way, and it was reported that he actually threatened to hang his brother if he spoke of a Restoration. Probably this was no more than a grim jest, and George Monk went so far as to order his secretary to draw up a letter from the army in Scotland to the army in England, declaring for a free Parliament. But on the news of Booth's defeat this letter was promptly burned, and Nicholas returned home at the beginning of October, convinced that he had effected nothing.[1]

1659 October

Charles, much chagrined to find his letter still undelivered, cast about for a new mediator, and fixed upon Clobery, one of the officers in whom Monk placed most trust. That person was already in communication with the loyal Dr. Barwick, who had given him a copy of the King's intended declaration, but, though he professed himself enthusiastic in the royal cause, he also declined to hand Charles's letter to the General, and promised no more than to mention it to him if ever a favourable opportunity occurred.[2] When, therefore, Monk began his march southwards his intentions were still shrouded in mystery, and while the King scarcely dared to hope anything from him the Parliament was seized with panic that its deliverer might prove also its destroyer.

1660 January 2nd-12th

Having voted a new oath of abjuration of the House of Stuart, it bade the General despatch his army back to Scotland and come himself to London with no more than 500 men. But Monk, ignoring this message, proceeded calmly on his way with 4000 foot and 1800 horse, and, on January 11, was received

January 6th-16th

January 11th-21st

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 618.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxvii. fol. 142.

at York by Fairfax, who presented to him an address from the whole county, desiring his aid in the restoration of peace and order, and in the calling of a new Parliament. He had already received a similar address from the city of London, and the Rump, perceiving that his progress could not be checked, appointed him General of all the forces in the three kingdoms, and sent two of its members, Scott and Robinson, to watch over his actions. The city thereupon sent four citizens to attend him likewise, and, thus accompanied, he continued his steadfast march southwards. On the way he was continually beset with petitions and deputations from the various counties and associations, all demanding a free Parliament, but, though the army was known to sympathise with the popular cry, the General's answers were always vague and cautious. This caution was, however, discounted by the fact that he spoke only in the presence of the two members of the Rump, and all parties continued to hope from him that which they most desired. The excluded Members of Parliament hoped for readmission to the House. The Rump hoped for the reduction of the city. The city hoped for the dissolution of the Parliament. The Cavaliers hoped, though faintly, for a Stuart Restoration.[1]

1659-60 December 29th-January 8th 1660 January 26th-February 5th January

'I believe,' wrote Hyde to Bennett, 'if you did, at this instant, receive twenty letters from London of the same date with our last, you would receive so many several opinions of the state of affairs there, according to the constitutions of the persons who write, and it was never harder for me to make a judgment of the state there than now.'[2]

As a precautionary measure the Rump had filled London with soldiers, but Monk, halting at St. Albans, demanded their withdrawal to a distance, that their

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxviii. ff. 146, 177, 187; lxix. fol. 40; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 639, 647, 652, 653, 661, 662; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 305, 307; *Cal. Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, ccxix. ff. 27, 28, 29.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 641.

1660 February 1st-11th quarters might be occupied by his own troops. There was no course but compliance. On February 1-11 the quarters were duly vacated, and two days later Monk

February 3rd-13th entered London and took up his residence at Whitehall.[1]

February 6th-16th On February 6-16 he received, through the Speaker, the formal thanks of the House, and mentioned in his reply the desire for a new Parliament now prevalent in the nation. This, combined with his rejection of the oath of abjuration, wrought fresh alarm in the Rump, which alarm was increased by a declaration of the Common Council that the city would pay no more taxes until it was again represented in a free Parliament. Though fearful that this contumacy arose from some secret understanding with Monk, the Rump could but appeal to him, and to that appeal he responded. On

February 9th-19th February 9-19 he marched his whole army into the city, dragged up posts and chains, destroyed the gates, and arrested four aldermen, with several other members of the Common Council.

'Monk plays the Devil with the City, routed the Common Council yesterday, sent divers of them to the Tower, and is now pulling down the gates,' was the report made to Hyde. 'And it may be they—being so enraged—may take harte and courage to defend themselves, and we shall see changes in despight of his force.'[2]

But it was the Rump that took courage from the reflection that the support of the city would thenceforth be lost to the General, and, during his absence, measures were concerted for the lessening of his power by joining six commissioners with him in his command. On the same day, February 9-19, they also received, with thanks and approbation, a violent petition from the sectaries, which vehemently deprecated the calling of a new Par-

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 652.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii. p. 674; *Clarendon MSS*, lxix. ff. 123, 124, 171; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. pp. 125-126.

liament, or the readmission of excluded members, required the imposition of the oath of abjuration on all holding office in Church or State, and practically demanded the extirpation of Cavaliers.

News of this was brought to Monk at Whitehall, whither he returned on Friday, February 10-20, and, since he had already refused the oath of abjuration and declared the need of a new Parliament, he could not but regard it as an attack on himself. His army took the same view, and on that evening he was visited by twelve of his officers, who came to express their indignation against the Parliament and their disapproval of the recent proceedings in the city.[1] The General held council with them all night, and on the following morning, Saturday, February 11-21, he sent a letter to the Rump, reproaching it sharply for its reception of the petition, demanding the immediate issue of writs for the filling up of vacancies in the House, and a prompt dissolution after reconstitution.

1660 February 10th-20th

February 11th-21st

'The time hastens wherein you have declared your intended dissolution, which the people and ourselves desire you would be punctual in,' he concluded.[1]

Having had this letter printed and published, he next summoned the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to meet him at the Guildhall, and marched again into the city. This time his errand was one of peace, and after a conference which lasted till nightfall, the Aldermen announced to the people that the General had declared formally for a free Parliament.

In a moment the streets were a scene of wild rejoicing. Bonfires were lit all over the town, rumps were publicly roasted in derision of the Parliament, the citizens treated the soldiers freely, and the King's health was openly drunk without let or hindrance. On the next morning Monk and the Lord Mayor attended service together at

February 12th-22nd

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxix. fol. 171; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 691; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 130; *Flanders Papers*, February 17-27, 1660, Church to Nicholas.

St. Paul's, and the general 'jollity' was continued far into the night.

The terrified Rump at once sent a committee to remonstrate with the General, who obliged them to meet another committee of excluded members, and, after hearing both sides, declared in favour of the latter's readmission to the House. Subsequently he returned to Whitehall, and, sending for all the surviving Members of the Long Parliament, delivered to them a document wherein he pointed out that the settlement of the nation lay now in their hands, indicated a Commonwealth and a Moderate Presbyterianism as the most satisfactory forms of Government for State and Church, and concluded with the reiterated demand that they should at once dissolve and call a new Parliament. Four days later the excluded Members returned to the House, and, outnumbering the rest, carried all before them. They confirmed and enlarged Monk's commission, dismissed the sheriffs and officers of militia, filling their places with men of moderate views chosen from among the nobility and gentry; appeased the city by granting it control of its own militia, and, voting the re-erection of its gates at the national expense, issued writs for a new Parliament to meet on April 25-May 5, and finally dissolved themselves on March 16-26.[1]

1660 February 17th-27th

February 2nd-March 3rd

March

March 16th-26th

[1] *Carte. Letters*, ii. pp. 309-310, 313: *Flanders Papers*, Mills to Nicholas, March 16-26, 1660.

CHAPTER XVII

Growth of Royalist Confidence in Monk—Influence of Mrs. Monk—Of William Morris—Interview of Monk and Grenvile—Despatch of Grenvile to the King—Royalist Feeling in the Country—Advice of the Speaker—Revolt of Lambert—Letters and Declaration of the King—Meeting of Parliament—Reception of the King's Letters by Parliament, City, Army and Navy—National Rejoicing—Attitude of the Spanish Ministers—Attempt to detain the King—Overtures of France—The King at Breda—Attempt to exclude Hyde and Ormonde—Gifts and Supplies of Money—Invitation to the Hague—Reception and Entertainment at the Hague—Arrival of the Committee of Lords and Commons—Of the Committee of Citizens—Of Presbyterian Ministers—Visit of James to the Fleet—Letter of the King to Monk—Embarkation of the King—Landing of the King at Dover—Reception at Canterbury—Journey to London—Entrance of London—Enthusiasm of the Populace.

THE Royalists had watched Monk's progress with vacillating feelings. At the end of January Mordaunt, who had sought to sound him by means of Ingoldsby, pronounced him 'a devil,' but this opinion was subsequently modified by the General's indignant repudiation of the oath of abjuration, and by his attentive hearing of Clobery's pleading for the restoration of the Monarchy.[1] The rising confidence, though rudely shaken by the unexpected attack on the city, was confirmed by the events of the following days, and on February 17-27 Mordaunt assured Hyde that Monk would inevitably be drawn to the King by the difficulties of his own present position, the obvious inclinations of the people, and the daily exhortations of his officers and friends.[2]

1660 January

February

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 659, 667, 675, 689.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxix. ff. 166, 170.

1660 March

The Chancellor, professing his acceptance of Mordaunt's judgment, thereupon enjoined the King's friends to lend the General all the assistance in their power, and in spite of Monk's occasional and seemingly gratuitous protestations of hostility to the royal interest, hope continued to predominate over fear.[1]

On February 24-March 6, Lord Willoughby reported:

'Most do believe that Monk is underhand for the King, all his declarations being but a vizard.'[2]

On March 9-19 he reiterated this conviction, adding:

'His wife, who doth not a little guide him, is highly for us.'[3]

And this statement was confirmed by a correspondent of Nicholas, who wrote on the same date:

'I cannot omit that Monk's little son, being asked by a lady that dined this week at St. James's who he was for, whether a King, a Protector, or a free State, he answered yt he was for ye King and soe was his mother. And ye truth is she has contributed very much to ye bringing matters to this pass.'[4]

Second only to the influence of Monk's wife and officers was that of his country neighbour, William Morris, who had long managed his estates in Devonshire, and had been also the guardian of Sir John Grenvile during his minority. Morris had come to London for the express purpose of representing the strong desire for the King in the west, had contributed not a little to the readmission of the excluded Members to the House, and, when the dissolution of the Long Parliament was an accomplished fact, at last prevailed upon his friend to see Grenvile and receive from his hand the long-delayed letter of the King.[5] Accordingly on March 19-29 Grenvile was brought secretly to St. James's and abruptly informed by Monk

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. pp. 15, 35; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 695, 697; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 323.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 689.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxx. fol. 120.

[4] *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvii. fol. 13.

[5] *Ibid.*; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxx. fol. 118.

that he was the messenger chosen to invite the King's return, provided he could dispense with credentials, since the invitation could not be committed to paper. Morris then explained the procedure desired of the King, proposing that he should enclose a letter and declaration for the Parliament in another letter addressed to the General, and suggesting the tenor of both missives. Monk confirmed these directions, promised to deliver the intended letter to the Parliament, and added a request that Charles would at once quit Flanders, and date all public documents from Breda. Thus instructed, Grenvile set out for Brussels with Mordaunt on Monday, March 26-April 5.[1]

The precise moment at which Monk decided on the King's Restoration is a matter of controversy. His chaplain, John Price, avers that he had resolved to effect it as early as July 1659, but it is more probable that he had reached no definite conclusion on the matter until the actual dissolution of the Long Parliament. By that time it had become evident that the Restoration would take place as soon as the new Parliament met. 1660 April

Montague had resumed command of the fleet with the King's express approbation, and was busily engaged in weeding out sectaries and fanatics from among his crews.[2] A petition of Monk's guard against the numerous Cavaliers in their ranks was quashed by the arrest and disarmament of the petitioners. The militia was put under the command of such well-known Royalists as Lord Oxford and Horatio Townshend,[3] and the Council of State, composed now of men 'who had never wished the King ill,' did all in its power to forward his cause. An edict for the temporary banishment of Papists, Cavaliers, and cashiered officers was ignored by the Cavaliers with impunity. Mordaunt and other proscribed persons March 2nd-12th

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 706; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. pp. 166-168.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxx. fol. 118; lxxi. ff. 204, 212, 301, 305; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 719, 724; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 152; *Carte, Letters*, iii. p. 311.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. fol. 156.

walked the streets unmolested, Booth was released to sit in the ensuing Parliament, and, in spite of strenuous opposition, the elections were carried almost everywhere in favour of the royal interest.[1] In England, Ireland, and Scotland, the King's return was eagerly expected,[2] and on March 30-April 9, a London correspondent wrote to Hyde:

'You cannot imagine how all people here are affected with joy at the hope of having a King again. His picture is hung up in many places in the streets, and all that goe by stop to look upon it; amongst whom there was one yesterday that said he had seen him lately and that he was not so handsome as that picture, at which the people were so angry that they fell upon the man and beat him soundly, by which you may judge of their inclinations.'[3]

Another writer reported:

'The King's reputation encreases here every day. Here is come out a Character of his Majesty, with his picture in the frontispiece. It is very well done and will do much good; it is sent down into all parts of the country.'[4]

And a member of the Council urged, through Lady Bristol, the immediate publication of a royal declaration, adding:

'If the King be resolute, in my judgment his business cannot miscarry.'[5]

In short, the question was no longer whether there should be a Stuart Restoration, but on what terms that Restoration should take place.[6] The Presbyterians were now in real terror that it would be effected without their intervention, and though the Royalists strove to soothe

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. ff. 25, 26, 35, 156, 243, 305; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 714; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. pp. 136, 143.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. ff. 25, 152, 156; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 697, 698.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. fol. 101.

[4] *Ibid.*, lxxi. fol. 350.

[5] *Ibid.*, lxxi. fol. 22.

[6] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. ff. 15, 31, 32, 67, 138, 237, 305.

them with assurances of oblivion for past injuries they could, said Lady Willoughby, 'believe nothing sure but their own salvation.'[1] Their best safe-guard appeared to be the conclusion of a treaty with the King before the new Parliament met, and some of the Presbyterian members of the Council actually proposed to offer conditions which were characterised as 'more insolent than ever they had demanded of the late King.'[2] This design was frustrated by Monk, who declared sharply that the Council had no power to treat,[3] but, unfortunately, the same objection applied equally to the Parliament, which would be obviously illegal in the eyes of the restored Monarchy.[4] Some thought that it might be legalised by royal proclamation, others that the difficulty would best be met by the King himself offering conditions as a free act of grace, and this was the view taken by the Speaker, William Lenthall, who now declared for the royal interest.[5]

'At last it hath pleased God that the wariest man living is not only come to treat with you but to advise you, as the enclosed will show,' wrote Lady Mordaunt to her husband. 'And though he hath long acted for the King secretly, as you know I have often been bid to assure you, yet (he) would never own it till now.'[6]

The substance of the Speaker's advice was that the King should hasten to offer conditions to the nation before the new Parliament met, pledging himself to confirm these conditions in a free and legal Parliament to be convened by a commission from himself. Charles was further recommended to yield no point prejudicial to his own interests, such as the control of the militia, without a struggle, to balance the contending religious parties against one another by a general toleration, to

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. fol. 341, 352.

[2] *Ibid.*, lxxi. ff. 22, 31, 32, 69, 138, 305, 350, 352; *Egerton MSS.*, mmdxxxvii. fol. 13; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 317-318.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. fol. 191. [4] *Ibid.*, lxxi. fol. 305.

[5] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. 711, 720.

[6] *Ibid.*, iii. p. 711.

pledge himself to no one article until all was concluded, and to gain the support of France and Spain by consulting the two crowns in regard to his proposals. Finally, he was warned 'still to provide for the worst,' and to exhort his friends at home to forbear a premature triumph.[1]

This caution was pointed by an untoward incident which momentarily shook the confidence of the Royalists. It had been feared from the first that the discontented party in the army might 'resist to blood,' and in March Lambert had been confined to the Tower, on a charge of creating disturbances in London. Thence he effected an escape on the night of April 10-20, and, having with great promptitude collected a small force, appeared with it near Daventry in Northamptonshire. For the moment alarm was great throughout the country, but the rapid pursuit of Ingoldsby, and the desertion of some of his own men, ruined Lambert's designs. He was quickly retaken with several of his officers, and again committed to the Tower on the very day that the new Parliament met, April 25-May 5.[2] With the fall of Lambert vanished the hope of the sectaries. An attempt made by the Presbyterian Lords who had sat in 1648 to exclude from their House all who had since attained the peerage, whether by creation or succession, failed signally; the Lower House was packed with Royalists, and all now tended to the re-establishment of the old order.[3] The Lords resumed their privileges, the Commons relinquished the oath of allegiance to themselves, and the King's palaces were furnished for his reception under the personal supervision of Mrs. Monk.

'She is an extreme good woman,' observed Broderick, 'far from vanity and full of zeal to his Majesty for whose person she is providing linen, and because it was, as she saith frankly, her old trade, she will save the King one

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 712.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. ff. 35, 243, 250; lxxii. ff. 19, 44, 45, 78; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 695; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. pp. 145-147.

[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. fol. 350; lxxii. ff. 50, 63*b*; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 328, 330.

half in laying out the other for the chambers, tables, etc.'[1]

All was now ready for the great event, and it only remained for the King to act.

'Never prince came so great a saviour to any nation as your Majesty will do to poor England,' averred Mordaunt.[2]

Already the King's declaration, dated from Breda on April 4-14, 1660, had been delivered to Grenvile within the dominion of the Dutch Republic, together with letters addressed by Charles to Monk, Montague, the city of London, the Council of State, and the respective speakers of the two Houses of Parliament.

The declaration professed Charles's ardent desire to enter peaceably into possession of his rights and restore to his distracted country the inestimable blessings of justice, law, and order, set forth his great affection for the Protestant religion, the privileges of Parliament, the liberty of the subject, and the fundamental laws of the land, offered free pardon to all, saving those thereafter excepted by Parliament, promised indulgence to tender consciences, and remitted the settlement of religious difficulties and the vexed question of land tenures to a future Act of Parliament. The accompanying letters tended more or less to the same effect, commended the recent actions of those to whom they were addressed, and promised the King's trust and confidence for the future.[3] With these documents Grenvile sailed from Ostend for England on Sunday, April 8-18, and on Saturday, April 28-May 8, he delivered the King's letter to Monk. The General immediately handed it over to the Council of State, and after an interrogation of Grenvile on the subject it was decided to present it unopened to the Commons at their next sitting.[4] 1660 May

On the third day of the session the House had adjourned

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. fol. 302; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 739.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxii. fol. 19.

[3] *Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, ccxxi. fol. 4-5; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. pp. 181-203.

[4] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 736; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. fol. 178.

until Tuesday, May 1-11, and on that morning, so soon as the Speaker had taken his seat, the President of the Council, Arthur Annesley, announced Monk's reception of the King's letter, adding that Sir John Grenvile was even then at the door with another letter addressed to the House of Commons. Thereupon Grenvile was led in by the sergeant, and delivered both letter and declaration to the new Speaker, Sir Harbottle Grimston, who proceeded to read both aloud while the House stood bareheaded to hear. The communication inspired, to all appearance, a general satisfaction. Thanks, and a sum of £50,000 for immediate expenses, were voted forthwith to the King. The death of the late King was condemned as 'tyrannical and illegal.' Government by King, Lords, and Commons was declared to be the true constitutional Government of England, Charles II. was named as 'the undoubted heir of the Crown,' and committees were appointed to prepare an answer to his letter, and to attend him personally at Breda. The Lords' reception of the royal message was not less cordial, and Grenvile was designated by both Houses as the bearer of their reply to the King.[1]

That same afternoon Charles's letter to the city was delivered by Mordaunt and Grenvile, and received, like the other letters, with every demonstration of gladness. A gift of money was at once assigned to the King by the Common Council, and a deputation of citizens appointed to convey it with the thanks and congratulations of the city to the Sovereign at Breda. Monk's officers, being shown the letter to the General and themselves, declared unanimously for the King, and the universal joy was signalised by the lighting of bonfires, ringing of bells, and the drinking of the King's health, kneeling in the streets. 'There was never, I may boldly say, so much happiness and joy, before this, produced to this nation in one day,' declared Mordaunt.[2]

[1] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 736; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxii. ff. 3, 11, 149; *Carte, Letters*, ii. p. 326.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxii. ff. 132, 149, 178, 185; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 737; Pepys's *Diary*, May 2, 1660.

Two days later, May 3-13, the royal letter and proclamation were delivered to the fleet, and read aloud by Samuel Pepys to the admiral, vice-admiral, rear-admiral, and eight captains, assembled in council on board the *Naseby*. Subsequently they were re-read to each ship's company separately, and received with acclamation, the sailors testifying their joy in the Restoration without one dissentient voice.[1]

Proceedings culminated on May 8-18 in the formal proclamation of Charles II. as King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and there remained only a contest for the honour of bringing home the Sovereign. Some of the soldiers still murmured, and a few fanatics uttered threats of vengeance, but the malcontent voices were drowned in the national rejoicing.[2]

'In the eyes and faces of all men this day their hearts were read so plain that though no joy was ever so universal, yet 'twas so great few could express their own, or paint in lively colours the dilated scene of their numberless assistants . . . shouts and acclamations filled the town, and warmed the air, an incense doubtless as acceptable as innocent,' reported Mordaunt.[3]

Well might another writer exclaim:

'Good God! Do the same people inhabit England that were in it ten or twenty years ago? Believe me, I know not whether I am in England or no, or whether I dream.'[4]

1660 March

The Spanish Ministers, long accustomed to witness English revolutions, had regarded the last one with indifference, as in no way affecting themselves or their ally, and this continued to be their attitude, up to the moment when Grenvile and Mordaunt conveyed Monk's message to Brussels.[5] As the two envoys carefully concealed their presence and their business, seeing the King only by night, at the Chancellor's lodgings, Caracena was still ignorant of the state of affairs when, on March

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxii. ff. 159, 165; Pepys's *Diary*, May 3, 1660.
[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxii. ff. 157, 238, 360; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 336, 340.
[3] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 742. [4] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxii. fol. 11.
[5] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 169.

20-30, Charles informed him casually of his intended visit to Breda, whither his brothers had already gone. He added that he expected to meet there emissaries from England, but Caracena listened with indifference, and merely expressed a hope that James would hasten to take up his command of the Spanish fleet at Madrid. A subsequent conference with Don Alonso seems however to have roused his suspicions, and he resolved, that same night, to appoint a guard to attend the English King, and prevent him from quitting the town without the Spanish consent.[1] The order for this was drawn up by Alonso, and left carelessly upon his table, where it was found and read by his Irish page, William Galloway. Under cover of darkness, the youth conveyed the paper first to the Chancellor and then to the King, who, having read it, bade him replace it where he had found it. This being done, Charles, Ormonde, Grenvile, and Armorer passed quietly out of Brussels at three o'clock on the following morning, and when the Spanish officers came to seek him some five hours later he was already well on his way to Breda. So soon as he had entered Dutch territory he delivered his letters and declaration to Grenvile, who returned forthwith to Antwerp, and that same night the King arrived safely at his destination.

1660 April

This sudden flight was much resented by the Spaniards, and, when the reason of it became obvious, Caracena sent an envoy to induce Charles's return to Spanish protection. Charles replied that he was detained at Breda by business which would probably prevent him from re-visiting Brussels, whereupon Caracena sent a second message, reproaching him with ingratitude, and requesting that he would at least send back one of his brothers in token of continued amity with Spain. At the same time Ormonde received a personal invitation to Brussels, to which he, like the two Dukes, returned only polite excuses and thanks for past favours.[2]

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. pp. 171, 178; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. fol. 37.
[2] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 229; *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxii. fol. 29.

France was not less anxious than Spain to have the treaty concluded on her soil, and Mazarin accordingly sent Jermyn to the King at Breda, with a warm invitation to Paris. In case the French capital was judged too far from the coast it was offered to prepare for Charles's reception at Calais, where his mother was ready to meet him, and it was pointed out that the French influence would be of great value in moderating and controlling the demands of the English Parliament. But Charles had no desire to oblige a Government which had so often disobliged him, and he understood very well the ill-effects that his presence in France would produce at home. Not only would it revive the old fears of his mother's influence, but it would, to all appearance, confirm the rumour of his intended marriage with Hortense Mancini, and this had been declared by Thurloe, 'the only means to unite all parties against the King.'[1] Therefore, greatly to the indignation of Henrietta, who was of course eager to offer her advice on affairs,[2] Charles declined the overtures of France as he had declined those of Spain, and wrote to inform both Monk and Montague of the invitation, adding that he was ready to proceed to any place chosen by them for his embarkation.[3] The place ultimately selected was, of course, the Hague, and though Charles loved Holland no better than he loved France circumstances forced him to avail himself of her tardily offered friendship. His reception at Breda had been very different from that of earlier days, when he was obliged to come and go in secret. The magistrates of the place had made themselves responsible for his accommodation and entertainment, and did their utmost to provide for the great numbers of his subjects who flocked from England and elsewhere to offer congratulations, presents, and protestations of loyalty. Those who had anything to fear sought pardon, those who had

1660 May

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. ff. 35, 90; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 752; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 230; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 313, 343; *Thurloe*, vii. p. 829.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. ff. 71, 141, 326.

[3] *Ibid.*, lxxii. ff. 91, 165.

suffered in the royal cause sought consolation and reward, petitions and addresses were showered upon the King, and his anxious advisers could only exhort him to promise nothing to any one until he was again in England.[1]

Congratulations were not less numerous than petitions. On May 2-12 came Captain Robert Holmes with a letter from Montague, containing an account of the proceedings in Parliament, and as soon as the news became generally known felicitations poured in from all sides.[2] Glencairn and many other Scottish nobles sent letters and messages, Mrs. Monk wrote on May 6, and at the same time came her brother, Dr. Clarges, with the declaration of the army, and the General's proposals for a future settlement. Monk now suggested that the sales of forfeited lands should be confirmed to the soldiers and sailors on a ninety-nine years' lease, regicides, members of the Committee of Safety, and all adherents of Lambert being excepted from this privilege. Five other persons were named as undeserving of pardon, and it was proposed that the King should annul all Acts under the Great Seal concluded since May 1642, confirming only those now tendered to him by Parliament. Finally, he was to abolish the Court of Wards, to give Monk the command of the army for life, and to commit the settlement of religion to a national assembly of divines.[3] Charles expressed his satisfaction with this communication by knighting the bearer, and wrote to reassure Monk of his adherence to his declaration and his firm intention to make good all that had been promised in his name.

'I tell you again,' he protested, 'that I will not leave myself bread rather than everything shall not be performed which you promise to your officers and soldiers in my behalf.'[4]

On the same day, May 21, he wrote to Montague that

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxii. ff. 25, 199, 204, 226, 253, 282; *Cal. Domestic State Papers*, Interregnum, ccxx. ff. 82, 88, 89, 111-116, 118, 119, 122-126, 131.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxii. ff. 129, 133, 139.

[3] *Ibid.*, lxxii. ff. 170, 174, 226, 242, 297.

[4] *Ibid.*, lxxii. fol. 350.

he was well-nigh distracted with letters and messages, and it is evident that the Chancellor experienced great difficulty in making him write what was absolutely necessary. Again and again he appended to his rough draughts of documents exhortations to the King to write and despatch them.

'I pray despatch this before dinner, and send it to me that the gentleman may be gone.'

'If you please to write these two letters . . . the messenger may be despatcht, whom it is no purpose to keep here.'

'It will not be fit that the letters go in any hand but your own. . . . If you are well enough to write them before seven of the clock it will be well. Otherwise Bernard Grenvile may be kept till the next, and it will be necessary you do that business concerning himself with your brother, and as obligingly as possible.'[1]

Amidst all this press of business it was more than vexatious to Charles to be plunged into a new contest concerning his Chancellor. Hyde had enemies all over England, and it was a question as to whether Roman Catholics or Presbyterians were most anxious to prevent his return thither.

'For myself I have been so long broken between those two violent mill-stones, the Catholics and the Presbyterians, that nothing they can say of me doth much trouble me, and I am persuaded that the wiser people of either party do not believe what the others say,' he protested.[2]

Nevertheless it was rumoured in April that 'a horrid conspiracy' was at work to exclude him from England. Money was collected to bribe those in power, the old story of his connection with Cromwell was revived and enlarged, and Monk was successfully inspired with 'a particular unkindness' for both him and Ormonde.[3]

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. fol. 257, April-May 1660.
[2] *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 672.
[3] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. ff. 96, 224, 332; lxxii. ff. 153, 185.

'I am from my heart sorry to find you so particularly shot at,' wrote Mordaunt. '. . . By stories artificially related both to the General and his lady, your enemies have possest them both with a very ill opinion of you.'[1]

The chief authors of these calumnies appear to have been Buckingham, Fraser, and Lady Newport, but the eloquence of Edward Progers at last persuaded Mrs. Monk of their untruth.[2] Her husband proved harder to convince, and Charles was constrained to take up Hyde's defence himself.

''Tis from some of those who are not much my friends that the report comes that the Chancellor should have lost my favour,' he wrote. 'The truth of it is that I look upon the spreaders of that lye as more my enemies than his, for he will always be found an honest man, and I should deserve the name of a very unjust master if I should reward him so ill that hath served me so faithfully.'[3]

Eventually Monk was prevailed upon by the King's firmness and by the representations of Mordaunt, Annesley, and others, to withdraw his opposition to the return of both Hyde and Ormonde. The Presbyterians also became convinced that the Chancellor was, though he hated them, their only safeguard against Popery and the destruction of their property by the 'swordsmen,' and no more was heard of the proposed exclusion.[4]

The last difficulty was thus smoothed over, the way of return lay open, and only money was needed for the accomplishment of the final steps. This need was now imperative, for it was several months since the King had received a penny from any source, and his debts in Flanders alone were reckoned at 80,000 florins.[5] But relief was at hand, and when Sir John Grenvile returned with the reply of the Houses of Parliament to

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxii. fol. 187. [2] *Ibid.*, lxxii. ff. 193, 240.

[3] *Ibid.*, lxxi. fol. 299.

[4] *Ibid.*, lxxii. ff. 193, 234, 293, 299; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 655.

[5] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. fol. 237; lxxii. fol. 410; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 648.

the King's letter he brought with him what was no less welcome, a supply of ready money.

'This afternoon,' recorded Pepys, on May 15, 'Mr. Edward Pickering told me in what a sad, poor condition for clothes and money the King was, and all his attendants, when he came first to him, their clothes not being worth forty shillings, the best of them. And how overjoyed the King was when Sir John Grenvile brought him some money—so joyful that he called the Princess Royal and Duke of York to look upon it as it lay in the portmanteau before it was taken out.'[1] The pinch of poverty was past, and thenceforth it was easy for Charles to raise money in London, Antwerp, and Amsterdam on the security of the votes of the English Parliament.[2]

1660 May 8th-18th

Moreover, the States-General were now ready with proffers of hospitality, ships, and money, and on May 8-18 their deputies came to Breda to thank Charles for the honour of his residence there, and to beg him to visit the Hague as their guest.[3] Policy, rather than inclination, induced the acceptance of their invitation, and on May 14-24 Charles set out with his brothers, sister, and little nephew for the Hague. They travelled by coach to Marvaert, where they were received by troops of cavalry and escorted to the yachts awaiting them at the quay. In less than an hour they had embarked and sailed down the river, the banks of which were thronged with people firing salutes, and all eager to express their heartfelt sympathy with the recent events. At Dort the royal party dined on board, at Delft they disembarked and proceeded, all in one coach, to the Hague, a distance of several miles. The cortège, led by the States' trumpeters, clad in crimson velvet, consisted of seventy-two coaches, each drawn by six horses, and all the way the roads

14th-24th

[1] Pepys's *Diary*, May 15, 1660.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxi. fol. 53; lxxii. ff. 308, 339, Shaw to Hyde, May 7, 1660.

[3] *Memoirs of Stephen Fox*, pp. 25-43; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 233.

were lined by an enthusiastic but orderly crowd, which hailed the King with joyful acclamation. The reception at the Hague itself was magnificent. Salutes of cannon greeted Charles's entrance into the city, and he was conducted, with great pomp and ceremony, to the house provided for his residence. There his entertainment was 'incredibly splendid and noble'; he dined publicly and sumptuously from dishes of massive gold, with his sister on his left hand and the Queen of Bohemia on his right. Five tables of twelve covers each were laid for the lords of his train, one for the ladies, musicians were in attendance, and every health proposed was acclaimed with volleys of cannon. Nor was the fare inferior to the ceremony, and Charles avowed, at a later period, 'that he never supped better than on the day he came to the Hague.' He slept that night in a bed designed originally for his sister, but never used, 'the fairest and richest that ever was made at Paris,' the walls of his bed-chamber were hung with pictures and tapestry of an immense value, and the States' generosity was crowned by a gift of £60,000 to the King and of £7500 to each of his brothers, over and above the £30,000 already assigned for the expenses of the royal visit.[1]

A certain number of the States' representatives attended always at the Court, whither flocked also the foreign ambassadors and ministers, and so great was the crush that, when the States-General and States of Holland made their formal visits to the King they could with difficulty effect an entrance.[2] Both visits were duly returned by Charles, who walked to the Assembly of the States-General in the company of Count William of Nassau, and was led up the stairs by a deputy of each province. At the top he was met by the whole body of States, and passed through them into the hall, where he stood uncovered until all had entered. Doubtless there

[1] *Fox*, pp. 43-45; *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 235; *Flemings in Oxford*, p. 133.

[2] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxii. fol. 413.

was in his mind the memory of the last time he had stood there pleading for his father's life,[1] but now there passed only mutual congratulations and assurances of friendship, and it was with many protestations of confidence and affection that the King commended his sister and nephew to the care of his hosts. Subsequently he visited the States of Holland in like manner, but the other States were, in pity to the royal guest, forbidden by proclamation to thrust themselves upon him, and enjoined to regard the visit of the States-General as made on behalf of all.

This was fortunate for Charles, who was now sufficiently occupied in receiving his own subjects. On the same day that he left Breda Montague had anchored his fleet off the Dutch coast, near Scheveling, and the committee of Lords and Commons—namely, the Lords Oxford, Warwick, Middlesex, Hertford, Brooke, Berkeley of Berkeley, Fairfax, Bruce, Falkland, Castleton, Herbert, Mandevil and Denzil Holles, Horatio Townshend, George Booth, Ashley Cooper, John Holland, and Henry Cholmondeley — had been welcomed and lodged at the Hague by the States-General. On May 16-26, the day after his own arrival, Charles received this committee in solemn audience, and was then presented with 'the humble invitation and supplication of Parliament that his Majesty would return and take the Government of the Kingdom into his hands,' and also with the sums of £50,000 for himself, £10,000 for James, and £5000 for Henry. This audience was followed by another accorded to fourteen substantial citizens of London who came with a gift of £10,000 to lay the lives and fortunes of the citizens at their Sovereign's feet. All were immediately knighted by the King, and both citizens and Members of Parliament expressed themselves more than contented with the graciousness of their reception. A company of ministers who came to plead for liberty of worship, with many

1660 May 14th-24th

16th-26th

[1] See *The King in Exile*, p. 70.

'tedious' relations of their own loyalty to the Covenant and thanksgivings for Charles's 'constancy to the Protestant religion,' was not so well pleased. Dissatisfied with general promises and anxious to deprive others of the toleration sought for themselves, they endeavoured to extract from the King a pledge that he would prohibit the use of surplices and the Book of Common Prayer even in his own chapel, but obtained only the sharp retort that in giving liberty to others he did not purpose to renounce his own.[1]

1660 May 17th-27th

In these days of excited rejoicing Charles denied himself to none, and on May 17-24 Pepys gained access to him in the company of Montague's little son, whom Charles kissed 'very affectionately.'

'The King seems to be a very sober man, and a very splendid Court he hath in the number of persons of quality that are about him, very rich in habit, from the King to the Lord Chancellor, who did lie bed-rid of the gout. He (*i.e.* the King) spoke very merrily to the child and me,' observed the diarist.

18th-28th

On the next day Montague himself requested to be called ashore to kiss the King's hand, and two days later James went with Henry on board the *Naseby*, to assume command as Admiral of the Fleet. After an hour spent in serious conference with Montague, he visited the other vessels, and finally bore back to the King a list of all their names, intending to change such as savoured too much of Commonwealth or Protectorate. He found the shore black with spectators of his return, and all that day English and Dutch thronged the ships till nightfall, 'so that we could not pass by one another, which was a great trouble to us all,' declared Pepys.[2]

By this time Charles had decided on the date of his departure, and had written to acquaint Monk with his decision.

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. pp. 239, 243-244; *Carte, Letters*, ii. pp. 337-339.

[2] Pepys's *Diary*, May 17, 22, 1660.

'I need say little to you since I have informed Dr. Thomas Clarges of my purpose, and he will tell you with what difficulty I get one quarter of an hour to myself,' he observed. 'I have thought the best I can of the place where I should disembark, and have heard several opinions upon it, and upon the whole matter have resolved, God willing, to land at Dover, and to stay some days at Canterbury to put things into as good order as I can. I resolve, if it please God, to embark on Monday, or Tuesday at the furthest, so that you will be able to judge as well as I when I shall be able to land. But you can hardly imagine the impatience I have to see you, for, till then, I shall take no resolution of moment. I pray bring Mrs. Monk with you, and believe me to be, very heartily, your affectionate friend,

'CHARLES R.'[1]

1660 May 17th-27th

In pursuance of this decision, Charles took a formal leave of the States-General on May 22-June 1, and the whole of that night was passed in active preparations for departure, the packing of trunks, and the despatch of waggons and coaches to the waiting boats.

May 22nd-June 1st

'There was,' says Fox, 'in a manner, no night between Tuesday and Wednesday, particularly for those who, finding no nook or hole to put their heads —because the houses were not able to contain the people who flocked thither from all parts of the neighbouring country — for the most part were constrained to walk the streets.'[2]

A crowd of some 50,000 persons had watched all night on the Dunes, at 2 A.M. the drums beat to assemble the soldiers and citizens, and the King himself rose very early to receive the States of Holland. Escorted by them and all the foreign ambassadors, followed by vast crowds, and almost smothered in the smoke arising from the salutes fired from ports and ships, he presently proceeded to the shore, where he

May 23rd-June 2nd

[1] *Clarendon MSS.*, lxxii. fol. 408.
[2] *Fox*, pp. 59-60.

took a final farewell of the States and the Princess Dowager. Then, declining the gorgeously appointed boat offered by the States, he greeted Montague with a kiss, and entered his shallop with his sister, nephew, and aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, whereupon the royal standard was immediately hoisted amidst the joyful shouts of the sailors, who threw caps and doublets into the sea, in the heat of their excitement. By 11 A.M. the party boarded the *Naseby*, now luxuriously refitted with silken flags, scarlet coverings, and well-furnished cabins, and after partaking of a dinner provided by the States, the King and Duke of York rechristened the ships, substituting for the *Naseby*, *Richard*, *Speaker*, and *Dunbar* the names of the *Royal Charles*, *James*, *Mary*, and *Henry*. This done, James departed to the *London* and Henry to the *Swift-sure*, while all afternoon Charles paced the deck of his own ship restlessly, 'Here and there, up and down, quite contrary to what I thought him to have been, very active and stirring,' remarked Pepys.

Once he paused on the quarter-deck to speak of his escape from Worcester and to relate, for the first time, the true history of his adventures, of which he had until then faithfully kept the secret. Late in the afternoon he mounted the poop to look back at the shore, and then came the moment for the dismissal of his guests. Of his aunt and nephew he took an affectionate farewell, but Mary clung to him in so violent a fit of weeping that he could hardly find it in his heart to leave her. Not until anchor had actually been weighed were the brother and sister induced to tear themselves apart, but at last, at 4 P.M., the fleet set sail, and in two hours' time it was lost from sight of the shore.[1]

1660 May 24th-June 5th / May 25th-June 4th

The English cliffs were sighted during the night of May 24-June 3, but the King and Dukes chose, before landing, to make their breakfast of the ship's rations,—pease, pork, and boiled beef. Charles then presented

[1] *Pepys*, May 7, 23, 1660; *Flemings in Oxford*, p. 128.

£500 to the crew and £50 to Montague's servants, and, entering the Admiral's barge about noon, was at last rowed into Dover with his two brothers. At the landing-place a large crowd of nobles, citizens, and soldiers, with Monk at their head, waited to receive him amidst thunders of cannon, and, as his feet touched English soil, Charles fell upon his knees and dramatically returned thanks for his marvellous restoration.

'The King, at his first landing, kneeled down and gave God thanks,' reported a witness of the scene. 'Then coming to General Monk, who was kneeling upon his knees, he took him up, embraced and kissed him with the title of "Father." The Duke of York kissed him several times. The Duke of Gloucester, whilst all the rest were shouting "God save the King!" he threw up his hat and cried, "God bless General Monk!" . . . The King was in a plain-stuff suit, with a plume of red feathers, the Duke of York with a white one, the Duke of Gloucester green.'

When Monk had been duly greeted, the Mayor of Dover approached and offered first his staff, which was returned, and then a magnificent Bible, which the King accepted with the remark that 'It was the thing that he loved above all things in the world.'[1]

Eventually, after some conversation held with Monk, Charles took coach for Canterbury, where he was again welcomed by vast crowds of loyal subjects.

1660 May 26th-June 5th

There, on Saturday, May 26-June 5, he rewarded the services of Monk, Montague, Hertford, and Southampton with the Order of the Garter, swore Monk a member of his Council, and appointed William Morris, whom he knighted, Secretary of State in Bristol's place. And that same evening he wrote to his little sister Henriette:

'I was so tormented with business at the Hague that I could not write to you before my departure, but I left orders with my sister to send you a small present from me, which I hope you will soon receive. I arrived

[1] Pepys's *Diary*, May 25, 1660; *The Flemings in Oxford*, pp. 129, 130.

yesterday at Dover, where I found Monk with a great number of the nobility, who almost overwhelmed me with kindnesse and joy for my return. My head is so dreadfully stunned with the acclamations of the people and the vast amount of businesse that I know not whether I am writing sense or nonsense. Therefore pardon me if I say no more than that I am entirely yours.'[1]

1660
May 27th-June 6th
May 28th-June 7th
May 29th-June 8th

On the next day, Sunday, the King attended divine service in the Cathedral, according to the restored Anglican rites; on Monday he made the first stage of his journey to London, sleeping that night at Rochester; and on Tuesday, his own birthday, he re-entered his capital, amidst delirious rejoicings. The roads were thronged with enthusiastically-loyal crowds, eager to see and greet him; at Greenwich the Mayor and Aldermen waited to receive him; at Temple Bar the city companies stood, drawn up in order, offering 'loud thanks' for his return; and at Whitehall the members of both Houses of Parliament were assembled to 'solemnly cast themselves at his feet.'

'Never was any Prince so welcome to his people as Charles II., after twelve years' banishment, was to his,' declared a spectator. 'Such state and such acclamations as I want words to expresse. . . . Mr. Will. Coventry, youngest son of the Lord-Keeper Coventry, rid first. After him ye King's coach, empty. After it sixteen coaches, with six horses apiece, in one of which rid Sir Philip Musgrave. A pretty while after came Major-General Browne, with three squadrons, gallantly accoutred; ye first squadron were all in cloth of silver doublets, ye second all in plush, ye third in buff. After him ye old Earl of Cleveland led up one thousand gentlemen, all in Buff laced with silver. . . . His Majesty rid in a dark cloth suit, ye Duke of York on his right hand and ye Duke of Gloucester on ye left, his Excellency and ye Duke of Buckingham immediately after. At Paul's school door ye ministers of London

[1] *Green*, vi. p. 427.

presented him with a Bible. Hee thankt them for it, and told them to this effect: "That ye greatest part of that daye's solemnity hee must ascribe to God's Providence, and yt he would make yt booke ye rule of his life and government," and desired Dr. Reynolds to bring ye Bible to him at Whitehall. For his feature he doth very much resemble his father—black and very slender-faced. When hee came into Paul's Churchyard hee cast his eye upon ye church and pointed to ye Duke of York, but what it was he said I could not perceive for the noise, though I was within a yard of him.'[1]

And wrote John Evelyn:

'This day his Majesty, King Charles II., came to London, after a sad, long, and calamitous suffering, both of the King and the Church, being seventeen years. This was also his birthday, and with a triumph of above 20,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords and shouting with inexpressible joy; the wayes strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapisserie, fountains running with wine, the Mayor, Aldermen, and all the companies in their liveries, chaines of gold, and banners; lords and nobles clad in cloth of silver, gold, and velvet; the windowes and balconies well set with ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven hours in passing the city, even from two in the afternoon till nine at night. I stood in the Strand and beheld it and blessed God! And all this was done without one drop of bloodshed, and by that very army which rebelled against him. But it was the Lord's doing, for such a restoration was never mentioned in any history, ancient or modern, since the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, nor so joyful a day and so bright ever seene in this nation; this happening when to expect or effect it was past all human policy.'[2]

Thus, after long years of trouble, poverty, and exile,

[1] *Flemings in Oxford*, pp. 131-133.
[2] *Evelyn's Diary*, May 29, 1660.

the King returned to his own again, and so demonstrative and so universal was the national rejoicing that it drew from the restored Sovereign the cynical observation, 'That he doubted it had been his own fault that he had been absent so long, for he saw no one that did not protest that he had ever wished for his return.'[1]

[1] *Clarendon, History*, xvi. p. 246.

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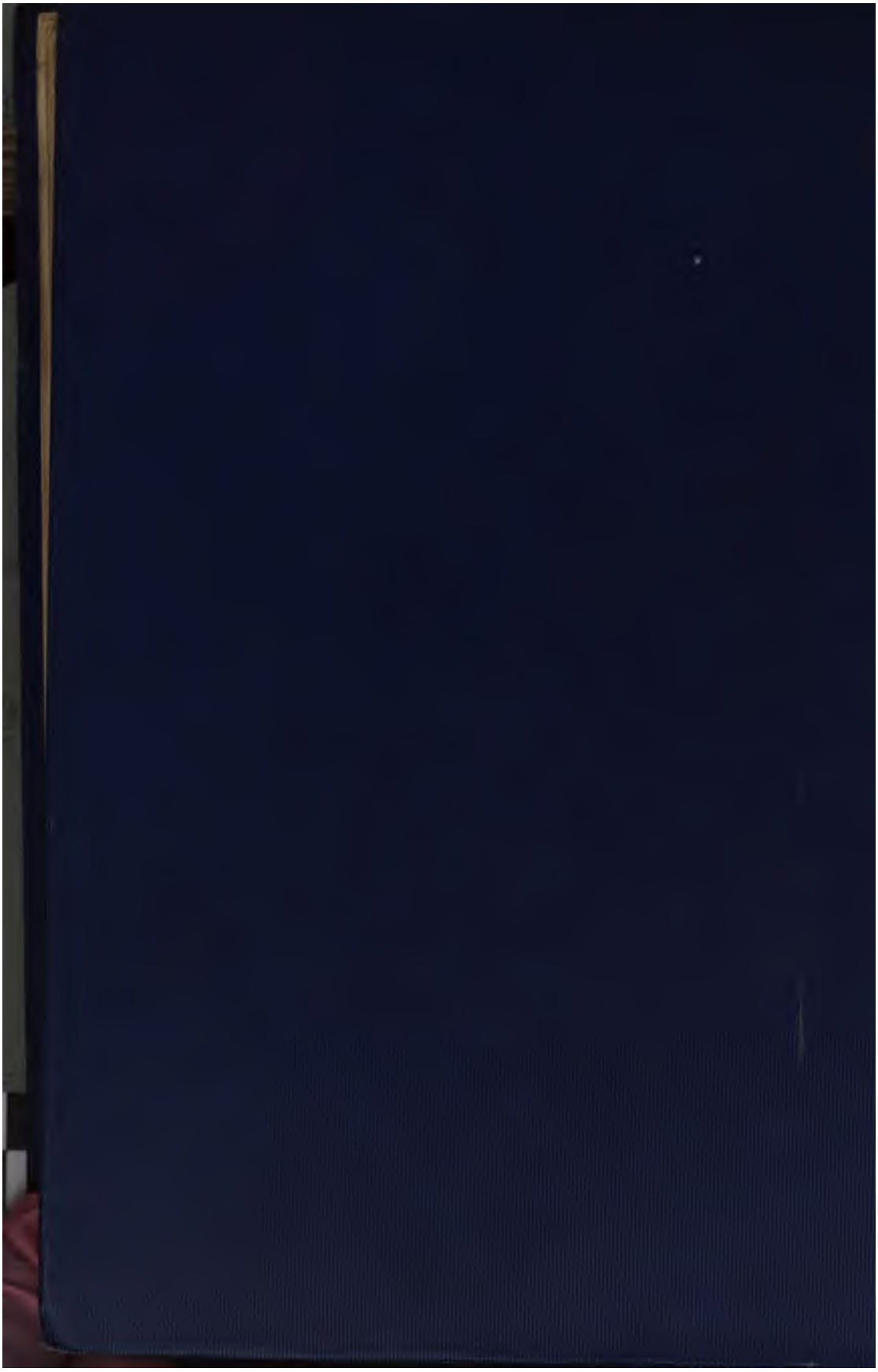
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